1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Middle American Civilization NY1

M 174

In Central Mexico, at the northwestern frontier of the zone of high civilization, we find the same sort of sequence which we have set forth for the Mayas, the Olmecs and the Zapotecs. First, there was a long Middle Culture occupation; second, a shift in culture whereby another group, basically Middle Culture, took on the beginnings of a civilized status as shown by the presence of mounds and the sculptural definition of one or two gods. Out of a branch of this Upper Middle Culture a third phase developed, a majestic ceremonial civilization called Teotihuacan* or classical Toltec, which was surpassed by its southern contemporaries only through their superior development of sculpture and the religious calendar. A fourth interval in the history of the Valley of Mexico was known as the Chichimec† Period and comprised a phase of decline when the Teotihuacan Toltecs disintegrated and migrant tribes vied with each other for supremacy. Finally a fifth phase saw the introduction of the ceremonial civilization, developed by the Mixteca-Puebla peoples, which culminated in the domination of the Aztecs.[22]

A 174

The Aztecs and their forebears grew up on the outer borders of an intensely civilized area in which the cultural history of its various peoples seems to have been very similar. Out of a long period of exploration and experimentation, the processes of which we have to reconstruct from our knowledge of the archaeology and ethnology of surviving cultures in North America, some of the tribes developed the sedentary life based on agriculture, typical of the Middle Cultures. This economy persisted for many centuries and in some places was never modified. However, somewhere in Guatemala or southern Mexico the conception of a cere-

*Tzyo-ti-wa-ca'n. †Che'e-chee-mec.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

● 174 monial center for religious practices changed the older pattern of life. Conditions in forested country, as we have noted, would seem to offer the most urgent reasons for such a practice, but it spread over the Highland area as well.

In the train of this ceremonial architecture followed closely the ritualistic definition of the gods and, elaborated in various degrees, a calendric system closely tied in with their worship. The development of these practices followed tribal lines, creating regional art styles and special religious modifications. There seems to be a correlation between the evolution of these tribal styles and the spreading out of an increasing population. Yet these populations at first do not seem to have had close enough contact to modify specifically the patterns and styles of each other's cultures. Eventually this protracted phase of independent civilization ended with a spread of ideas and peoples, derived from Central Mexico, which continued for the last four centuries before the Spanish Conquest.

Estimates of time are hard to make in the absence of specific dates. Yet to allow eight centuries for the duration of the independent civilizations does not seem excessive, and to assume a similar length of time for the Middle Culture phases appears to be well within the bounds of probability. However, several thousand years could have elapsed between the first immigrations to America and the establishment of sedentary agricultural settlements like those of the Middle Cultures.

Rhythms of development are obviously not the same in all areas. The conditions of the natural environment had a profound effect on the progress of the American Indians, and the causes which affect the rise and decline of the birth rate

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

likewise played a part in their history. The forces leading to invention and to the development of techniques, the status of the various tribal societies, and many other important factors must have operated in this historical evolution, but it is next to impossible to reconstruct them from the mute evidence of archaeological remains.

Since the history of the Aztecs and their forebears is better known than that of any other American Indian population, it is worth while to see how closely we can reconstruct the social, economic and environmental forces which affected them. Indian and Spanish sources illuminate the Aztec period, and dim traditions shed a faint light on the decline and fall of the Toltecs of Teotihuacan. Only for the Middle Culture peoples do we have to rely solely on material remains; nevertheless, in the Valley of Mexico the deep refuse heaps accumulated through the centuries present a record more detailed and capable of interpretation than elsewhere in Middle America. Therefore, the history of the Aztecs and their forebears presents in small compass the major trends which governed the rise of Middle American civilization.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

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174

TABLE IV

SEQUENCE OF TRIBES IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES

	Phillips[a]	Ixtlilxochitl I[b]	Ixtlilxochitl II[c]	Veytia[d]	Duran[e]	Muñoz Camargo[f]	Clavigero[g]	Sahagun[h]	de Jonghe[i]	Mapa Tlotzin[j]	Mapa, Quinatzin[k]	Codex Xolotl[l]	Motolinia[m]	Garcia Icazbalceta[n]
Maceguales (created by Gods)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Quinames (Giants)	2	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tarasco	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Olmecs-Xicalanga	–	2	2	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zacatecs	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Toltec	4	3	3	4	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Nomad Chichimec	3	4	4	2	–	–	2	–	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chichimec	–	–	–	5	2	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Teo-Chichimec	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otomi	–	–	5	6	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–
Acolhua I Thaltoque	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chimalpanecs	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–
Chalco-Toltec	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
Acolhua II Texcoco	–	6	5	6	–	3	3	–	(4)	3	–	–	2	2
Culhua: 7 Tribes	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3	3	–	–	–	–	–
Culhua: Tepanec	–	6	5	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
Culhua: Culhua	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
Culhua: Aztec	–	6	6	7	4	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	3	3
Culhua: Huitznahua	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–

[a]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, 618–19, 622–24.
[b]Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones, 1891, 17–21, 73–103.
[c]Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 1892, 21–45, 61–65, 69–71.
[d]Veytia, Historia Antigua, 1836, Vol. 1, 139–156; Vol. 2, 3–10, 39–46, 87–101.
[e]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, 10–14.
[f]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, 5–116.
[g]Clavigero, History, 1787, 93–136.
[h]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 4, Book II, 106, 116–17, 138–47.
[i]de Jonghe, ed., Histoire de Mechique, 1903, 8–20.
[j]Aubin, Peinture Didactique, 1885, 58–74.
[k]Aubin, Peinture Didactique, 1885, 75–85.
[l]Radin, Sources, 1920, 41–45.
[m]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, 3–5.
[n]Origen in Garcia Icazbalceta, 1886–92, Vol. 3, Origen de los Mexicanos, 283–92.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

There is evidence, too, that the Valley was not completely settled, for in the mid-thirteenth century the Tenochca were able to thread their way south to Chapultepec* without coming into serious conflict with the settled populations.[4]

However, in the mid-fourteenth century there was serious conflict. A tribe called the Tepanec, which lived at Azcapotzalco, outgrew its boundaries. Led by an able and vicious chief, Tezozomoc,† it began to extend its territories. Culhuacan felt the pressure first, and internal discord developed, as it must when a nation cannot feed itself and has no room to expand. Some of the Culhuas moved up to Texcoco along the eastern shore and added their long-practiced skills to those of the Texcocan community. The Tepanec, blocked to the south by dense populations and to the west by high mountain walls, turned north and east to raid and occupy Texcocan lands. Otomi‡ tribes, whose territory lay on the islands and the eastern shore of Lake Xaltocan, were pinched between the opposing forces who would brook no neutrality. They moved north, and the two great powers, Tepanecs and Texcocans, came into direct contact and war ensued. Tezozomoc won a signal victory, broke Texcoco and alienated her vassals. He quickly dominated the rest of the Valley towns, almost obliterating the empty shell of Culhuacan's former dominance. His son Maxtla§ succeeded this vigorous and ruthless conqueror in 1427. Having the northern Valley at his feet, he oppressed the conquered and interfered in the affairs of former allies like Tenochtitlan. Yet he was to enjoy his conquests only a bare two years.[4]

Indian governmental practice extracted tribute from conquered tribes, but had not developed a technique for forcing

*Cha-po'ol-tepec. †Te-zo'z-o-moc. ‡Ot-o-me'e. §Ma'sh-tla.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenochcas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Tla-co'-pan.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU43

Hill of the Star, behind Culhuacan. Dr Tozzer, who named the ware, found it mixed with late Teotihuacan material at the type site, but my wife and I excavated a Teotihuacan site of the same period without finding a single sherd among the 200,000 fragments we examined. At one or two places west of Tenayuca, Coyotlatelco sherds have appeared with Mazapan material. Mr Noguera found the extreme limit in lateness at Tenayuca where Coyotlatelco and Aztec II fragments were mixed. The geographical and chronological associations of this ware suggest that the makers were Culhuas or Tepanecs.

Culhuacan, so important in the annals as the seat of a famous line of chiefs, shows today little sign of its past greatness. Yet excavations undertaken twenty-five years ago prove that its historical importance was not overestimated, for it seems to have been the base from which Aztec culture spread over the Valley. Pottery, so dismal to read about, so important in reflecting tribal patterns, tells the story of this process.

Aztec pottery is found everywhere in the Valley of Mexico, and, due to the Aztec custom of destroying household goods at the end of each fifty-two-year cycle, it can be identified in terms of relatively exact periods: IV, 1507–19 (the date of the Spanish Conquest, which prevented the cyclical celebration of 1559); IIIb, 1455–1507; IIIa, 1403–55; II early and late, perhaps a century prior to 1403, and I. Periods III and IV are represented everywhere. Period II is common on the mainland but less so in Tenochtitlan, which was politically insignificant until after 1400. To date, Period I is represented in quantity only at Culhuacan. The standard ware of Periods II–IV goes through a consecutive evolution but has a close

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

generic resemblance throughout, while Period I pottery is much closer to the fine orange wares of Puebla which were traded widely throughout southeastern Mexico. There is also a trade connection between Aztec I and Mazapan.* (See Plates 25, 29.)

In the history of Culhuácán digested on pp. 72–73 the fact was noted that there was first a Toltec dynasty, which was succeeded by a Chichimec or foreign regime. It may not be stretching the manipulations of the historian too far if we suggest that the Culhuas changed their culture with their dynasty. Coyotlatelco ceramics, which have vague affiliations with Teotihuacan pottery, may represent the material culture of the Toltec dynasty, while the Aztec I pottery, completely alien to the preceding styles, seems to embody the material presence of the new regime.

Seeming confirmation of this situation comes from the site of Tenayuca, where great Mexican archaeologists like the late José Reygadas Vertiz, Ignacio Marquina, Alfonso Caso, Eduardo Noguera and others have carried out a superb dissection of one of the temples. It was completely rebuilt five, or possibly six, times. The renovation answered the ceremonial requirement of rebuilding and refurnishing at the beginning of each fifty-two-year cycle in compensation for the destruction at the close of the previously elapsed period. As the site was occupied during the Conquest, the reconstructions probably followed the cyclical ceremonies of 1507, 1455, 1403, 1351 and 1299, with the first building erected some time earlier. The fourth, fifth and sixth constructions (1403, 1455, 1507) are purely Aztec; the third temple built (1351) is a transition between the Aztec style and the simpler, more archaic methods employed in the two earliest

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

A 172 346 structures (1299 and the original temple). The three completely developed Aztec temples correspond closely to the distribution of Aztec III and IV pottery, between 1403 and 1519. The transitional temple and the second building suggest that cyclical renovations were adopted everywhere along with the Aztec II pottery of the fourteenth century. The original platform of this Tenayuca temple could have been constructed almost any time in the thirteenth century, since the building of a shrine did not entail the celebration of the beginning of a fifty-two-year cycle.[20] (See Plates 25; 26, bottom; 29.)

A ● 174 The Aztec civilization was brought into the valley at Culhuacan, where it gradually supplanted the defined local cultures. Where, then, was its true source? The most probable answer is Cholula, in the state of Puebla, where still exists the largest structure in the world in terms of cubic content. The devoted group of Mexican archaeologists, whose co-ordinated efforts have organized the rich background of their Indian past, have been analyzing this monument by excavation and archival research for many years. The results are important. (See Plate 26, top, middle.)

P 174 346 Originally Cholula was occupied by an Upper Middle Culture tribe which later fell under the domination of Teotihuacan-Toltec civilization. At this time the inhabitants built a large ceremonial precinct, a maze of temples, platforms and stairs, constructed of rubble covered with plaster. Eventually newcomers, possibly with the aid of the resident population, performed the stupendous task of converting the Toltec precinct into a single great platform, traditionally in honor of the god Quetzalcoatl. This mammoth construction entailed filling in every building and courtyard with

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

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A
172
174
175

eage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

		Rulers		
Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cuauhtexpetlatzin 1124–81	Teizlacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Huetzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtonal 1237–51				

1247–99, Late Chichimec-Aztec I Period

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Pueblan origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
New Lineage			*Lineage Begins*	
Mazatzin 1251–74			Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Cozcoxoxtzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilhuitl 1235–98
Chalchiuhtlatonac 1287–1304				

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER V

THE AZTEC PERIOD

In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174 ●
of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173
shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805
important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'hl-li.

A P 172 ●174

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7 ● Prehistoric Mexico NU3

TABLE VII

MIGRANT TRIBES, ACCORDING TO VARIOUS AUTHORITIES, COMPARED TO CERAMIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL MEXICO

	Histoire Mexicaine[a]	*Codex of 1530*[b]	*Codex of 1576*[c]	*Cuhs—ed. Muñoz Camargo*[d]	*Historia de los Mexicanos*[e]	*Codice Ramirez*[f]	*Codex Botturini*[g]	*Durán*[h]	*Sahagun*[i]	*Codex Telleriano—Remensis*[j]	*Codex Vaticanus A*[k]	*Clavigero*[l]	*Motolinía*[m]	*Muñoz Camargo*[n]	*de Mendieta*[o]	*Suggested Correlation of Pottery Styles with Tribal Groups*
Aztec	x	x	(x)*	–	x	x	(x)*	(x)*	(x)*	–	–	(x)*	x	–	x	Regulation Aztec of Tenochtitlan[p]
Zochimilca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(?)
Tepaneca	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Tenayuca II (?)[q]
Acolhua	–	x	–	–	[x]†	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	(x)*	(x)*	–	Mazapan[r]
Culhua	–	x[1]	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Culhuacan (like Aztec)[s]
Cuitlahuaca	x	–	x	–	–	–	x[2]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Chalca	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	x	–	(x)*	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[t]
Tlahuica	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	Gualupita III[r]
Tlaxcalteca	–	–	–	–	[x]†	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	(x)*	–	–	Some styles resemble Cholula wares[u]
Cholulteca	–	x[3]	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Cholula wares[v]
Huexotzinca	x	x	x	x	[x]†	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Matlatzinca	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Matlatzinca[s]
Malinalca	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(?)
Quauhquechollan-Xelhua	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	(?)

Chichimecs	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	–	–	x	x	–	(x)[a]	–	–		(?)
Nonoalca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Michoacs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	(x)[a]	–	–		(?)
Comhca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Totonaca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Cuexteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	–	–	–		(?)
Xicalanga-Olmecs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	x	–	x	(x)[a]	x		(?)
Mixteca	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		Monte Alban 5[aa]
Otomi	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x		(?)

[a]Implied but not specifically listed.

[†]"These people, say the Mexicans, and no more sallied forth, although those of Tezcoco and Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco boast . . . that they too . . . are also of that land." Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, p. 625.

[b]Histoire Mexicaine in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 60.

[c]Codex of 1590 in Boban, Documents, 1891, Pl. 24; Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 8, footnote.

[d]Codex of 1576 in Aubin, Histoire, 1893, p. 4, both of text and translation.

[e]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7. A footnote by Chavero gives a list taken from Cuadro Historico-Jeroglifico de la Peregrinacion de las Tribus Aztecas Que Poblaron el Valle de Mexico, No. 2, published in the Atlas Geografico of Antonio Garcia Cubas, Mexico, 1858, usually called the Codex Boturini.

[f]Phillips, Codex Ramirez, 1883, pp. 624–25. Forty tribes.

[g]Historia de los Mexicanos in Biblioteca Mexicana, 1878, p. 18.

[h]Radin, Sources, 1920, p. 33, Pl. I taken from Kingsborough, Vol. 1.

[i]Duran, Historia de las Indias, I, 1867, p. 10.

[j]Sahagun, Historia General, 1938, Vol. 3, Book 11.

[k]Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 1899, p. 34, Pl. 25.

[l]Codex Vaticanus A, 1900, Pl. 67.

[m]Clavigero, History, 1787.

[n]Motolinia, Historia, 1914, pp. 7–10.

[o]Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, pp. 5–68. The list of tribes given under this authority has been extracted at random points from the text. Muñoz Camargo does not specify the list of migrants.

[p]de Mendieta, Historia, 1870, p. 145.

[q]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 32.

[r]Noguera, in Tenayuca, 1935.

[s]Vaillant, Correlation, 1938.

[t]Boas, Album, 1911–12, Pls. 1–36; Brenner, Influence of Technique, 1931.

[u]Chavero, in Muñoz Camargo, Historia, 1892, p. 7, misreads this sign Cholula.

[v]Radin, Sources, 1920, misreads this sign Cholula.

[w]Vaillant and Vaillant, Gualupita, 1935, Figs. 19, 27.

[x]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[y]Peñafiel, Nomenclatura Geografica, 1897, gives this sign as Cholula.

[z]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 31.

[aa]Noguera, Caracteristicas de Ceramica, 1930, Pl. 6.

[bb]Caso, Monte Alban, 1938.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3
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172
174●

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

172
174
175

TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the Mixteca; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tencaltecutli 1299–1338	Miahuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohuallatonac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–08		Tenoch(?)
Tzihuacuatzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzatzamaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–52		Totepeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Quoen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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175

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyuxitzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Temaxcococuitzin 1373–78	Mamaxtzin 1369–89	Techodala 1357–1409	
Achitomel 1388–1400	Tlacatecotzin 1379–89	Pichaxtzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolomayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Restored Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Moctezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco;
●174 growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec
175 IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

[P. 112@]

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PLATE 33

PROCESSION OF NOTABLES, DOING HONOR TO MONTEZUMA

This drawing by Keith Henderson, in the Henry Holt Edition of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, was adapted from native picture records. The artist reconciles the crabbed fidelity of the Indian drawing with our own representational standards.

[P. 112(D)]

PLATE 36

AZTEC WOMEN

Rich embroidery enlivened the simple dress of Aztec women, as shown in this drawing by Keith Henderson. The measure of this artist's accuracy may be taken by comparing this plate and Plate 33 with the Codex Florentino paintings on Plates 54–55.

174

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471 421 the leaders of each, in turn, apportioned its share among the heads of families justly and equitably. Sections were also reserved for the maintenance of the chief and the temple staff, for war supplies and the payment of tribute; these were worked communally, with some amount, no doubt, of slave [428] labor. At the death of a tenant the land passed to his sons. If he died without issue the holding reverted to the clan for redivision, as was also the case if a tenant failed to cultivate his plot for a period of two years. Such a system could work equitably and profitably for all concerned so long as a society was relatively static and plenty of arable land was at hand. However, in the Valley of Mexico inequalities developed in the system.

●174 The growing population of the Valley tribes used up all the available land, and families or clans had no way of adding to their farm holdings. A plot which produced ample supplies for a small family might yield a bare subsistence or less for a larger one. Normal variation in the richness of soil would result in similar injustices. Under such conditions the chiefs and priests who lived off the public lands would be far better off than the ordinary citizen whose holding, generation by generation, tended to diminish. Thus friction leading to foreign war and internal revolt was bound to result whenever a tribe could not expand its territorial limits to meet the needs of its population. The considerable mi- [167] grations, like those of the Culhuas to Texcoco and Tenochtitlan or the Mixtec people to Texcoco years earlier, had their basis in a pressing economic necessity.[9]

241 311 The Tenochcas, who came late to the Valley, at a time when land was at a premium, had, we have seen, a difficult time in withstanding their hungry neighbors. Forced to re-

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ing of the arm thereby giving the missile an increased propulsive force. Some of these *atl-atls* were most delicately carved and represent the best of Aztec design. (See Plate 54, bottom.)

Metallurgy was in its infancy. Copper was cold-hammered; the art of adding alloys to make bronze had not reached Mexico from the south, but the gilding of copper and mixing of gold and copper were adopted by Mexican goldsmiths. Copper was cast into bells and ornaments, and the process, used also for gold, was the cire-perdue, or lost-wax, method. The desired shape was modeled in clay, over which was dusted finely ground charcoal, followed by an even layer of wax. This coating was also dusted with charcoal and the whole enclosed in clay, which was perforated at the top and bottom. The molten metal was poured in at the upper hole after the wax was melted and the lower orifice plugged. When the metal cooled the cast was broken and the finished object removed.[11] (See Plates 46–47.)

Although most of the native goldwork found its way to the Spanish melting pot, a few lovely ornaments survived; in 1932 the quantity was more than doubled by Dr Alfonso Caso's discovery of the undisturbed tomb of a high Mixtec official. The design and shape of these necklaces, earplugs and rings, by their sheer intricacy and bulk, make one realize that the Spanish descriptions of Cortes' loot understated the rich ability of the Aztec goldsmiths.[12]

Metalworking, without much question, had its origin in Ecuador or Peru, and various techniques were transmitted up the Pacific coast to Panama and Costa Rica, where important goldworking industries were founded. Although the intervening area produced little metal, another center was

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325 established in Oaxaca in Mixtec times. The Oaxacan ornaments, although deficient in some of the southern technical developments, surpass in design and workmanship the best of the older goldwork of Peru and Ecuador.[18]

Metallurgy seems to have arrived late in Mexico, certainly not before the eleventh century. Mentions of copper in Toltec times refer more probably to the Dynastic Period than to that of Teotihuacan. I know of neither copper nor gold which comes from the early or middle periods of the great Middle American civilizations, although some hollow clay bells from the late Toltec occupation of Azcapotzalco tantalizingly suggest metal prototypes. Toward the close of the Independent Civilization phase, and more especially during the domination of Mixteca-Puebla culture, there are consistant occurrences of metal objects.

316 Mining methods were rudimentary. Gold was collected in nugget form or panned as dust; copper also was mined as nodules or nuggets; silver, which seldom occurs pure in nature, was for this reason rarely converted into ornaments. The melting furnaces were heated with charcoal and their draft forced by a man blowing on the embers through a tube. The casting we have already described. This work in gold, one of the great wonders of the Conquest, was achieved by the same simple methods of all Aztec handiwork and was another triumph of sheer skill, unassisted by technical aids.

323 Pottery making was the greatest New World craft, and probably no other continent has such a complex range of form and design. The malleability of clay made it easy to work, and firing was simple, so that pottery products were an important part of Indian craftsmanship. In the Valley of Mexico we have no trace of people before the introduction

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Pottery was not confined to household chattels; great roof ornaments of baked clay were made to adorn the temples. Sun-dried adobes were commonly used for general house construction. However, they were sometimes fired into bricks which formed the back walls of fireplaces or were substituted for dressed stone in the corners of buildings. A temple at Tizatlan carries brick construction in the pillars before the altar, but rubble faced with cut stone was preferred as a general building material for temples. Before the great temples, braziers the height of a man, combined ritualistic usefulness with architectural ornament. Cones of baked clay were used as studding to keep the plaster from slipping off the temple walls and to serve as a decorative element as well.[21]

The Mexican craftsman had at hand an abundance of good pottery clay, which from the earliest times provided a medium for plastic experiment and experience. Work in clay created the background for that sureness and security in creation that stands out in the later Mexican sculpture in stone and wood. According to our Western standards, clay is a substance inferior to wood or stone for plastic expression. However, the ancient Mexicans, like the old Chinese, considered it fit for the finest examples of their arts and crafts.

Mexican craftsmanship, whatever the tribe and whatever the era, was superb in that it answered the necessities and ideals of both the time and the people. There is little evidence of a wide gap between superior and inferior workmanship, as in our Western civilization, where there is less need or opportunity for high-grade handwork. In unindividualized societies the general skills of the tribesmen, so far as can be judged by their work, follow a more even course than in

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174 346 Teotihuacan was probably the result of the co-operation of communities scattered over a large part of the Valley. Its scale and vastness could not have been achieved by a single resident community. In Chichimec times, when there was no central authority, each community built its temple or temples as best it could, and few survived. Tenayuca still has a temple of this period, the platform walls of which ascend almost vertically. Apparently shrines to two gods rested on the summit. At this same time, across the mountains in Puebla, the Cholulans were piling sun-dried brick on sun-dried brick to make a man-made mountain. So huge is this structure that the priests' quarters as well as the temple were located on top of one of the platforms. A large colonial church founded on the pyramid has obliterated evidence of the ancient temple proper, which tradition dedicated to Quetzalcoatl. It would seem logical to assume that the priests' houses were on a lower level than the shrine, since the tenets of Aztec religious architecture required a dominating position for the earthly residence of the god.* (See Plate 26.)

However, in the Valley of Mexico the communities prospered and their peoples multiplied. As resources and man power increased, the temples became larger and more numerous. Yet so complete was the destruction by the Spaniards and their Indian converts who transformed many a temple on its platform into a large parochial church, that the modern visitor finds little to suggest the architecture of the past. Archaeology has abundantly confirmed, in fragmentary form, the amazed descriptions of the conquerors.

The last two reconstructions at Tenayuca bear witness to the excellent proportions and dramatic principles of Aztec architecture. Excavations in the hill above the railway station

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at Cuernavaca revealed a temple intact in all except its roof. 174
The temple of the Tepozteco, perched high in the hills over 346
Tepoztlan,* is another nearly perfect example of Aztec architecture on a small scale. A pit sunk in a vacant lot across the street from the cathedral in Mexico City reached the corner between the stair and the western wall of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli, War God of the Aztecs, and the massive size and ornate decoration prove that the startled descriptions of the Spaniards did less than justice to this tremendous monument. A recent excavation in a cliff overhanging Malinalco, near Tenancingo, state of Mexico, brought to light a temple complex, largely hewed from living rock, which thrusts the famous Egyptian rock tombs of Abu-Simbel into the limbo of provincial opera-house scenery.* (See Plates 28, bottom; 37, top; 50–51.)

The Aztec temple had a platform, the sloping sides of 346
which were generally broken by three terraces. A steep, broad 532
stair flanked by balustrades, occasionally with a third dividing it into two, gave access to the top. Carved stone blocks, projecting in rows from the sides of the platform, represented snakeheads, skulls or some other symbolic form of the cult. At the foot of the balustrades huge serpent heads with gaping jaws added to the architectural design and created awe in the beholder. The stair rose broad and steep, focusing the attention on the sacrificial block at the top, over which victims were stretched to await the searching knives of priests.

Behind the block stood the temple or temples, which generally had a back room for the idol and an antechamber for the priests. The walls were usually of dressed stone and

*To-pos-tla'n.

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much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people, promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

As if the confusion between a man and a god of many guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

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796 century, wrote of the game and the ball used by its players.[24]
526 (See Plate 57, bottom left; Fig. 3.)

525 There were also games of chance which were played with
796 a semisacred significance. One such game, *patolli*, utilized a board shaped like a cross, with spaces ruled in the arms, not unlike a version of the old-fashioned parchesi of our childhood. Macuilxochitl, Five Flower, the god of all games, was sometimes portrayed in connection with players of *patolli*.[25]

796 Another important entertainment involved the erection of
526 a high pole at the top of which a movable platform was socketed. Men dressed as gods or the birds into which the gods transformed themselves, and, fastened by ropes wound around the platform, leaped off into space. As they did so the ropes, unwinding, rotated the platform and gave the effect of flight to the circling performers. Each turn brought the birdmen nearer to the ground, and they were wont to alter their center of balance and adjust their wings, producing the effect of the rise and fall of soaring birds. This modest application of the principle of gliding must have created a spectacle of color and beauty. The ceremony is still performed in parts of Mexico, and the Volador, or flying place, of Tenochtitlan was, until very recently, the site of the "Thieves' Market" in Mexico City.[26]

782 The application of human sacrifice to the most simple cere-
● 174 monial act of thanksgiving offers a grisly contrast to the spirit in which these rituals were carried out. However, social and religious behavior are calculated to preserve human existence and ensure man's well-being, regardless of how warped the methods may become. It follows that the idea of sacrificing precious possessions to attain such ends would lead to the offering of the most precious gift of all, human life,

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since that is what man most ardently strives to keep intact. Thus instances of human sacrifices keep cropping up in the world's religious systems, and we preserve in our own culture the concept of martyrdom, achieved by voluntary or involuntary means, as an act of virtue. The very beautiful example of the Saviour transmutes to the highest spiritual plane this idea of sacrifice for the good of humanity.

The Aztecs did not reach this spiritual level, but the symbolism of their sacrifice has, nonetheless, its own barbaric beauty. They reasoned that for man to survive, the gods who permit his existence must also live and wax strong. These gods, however, received their best nutriment from the most precious of offerings, the hearts of men. Thus a vicious circle became established which led to sacrifice on an increasing scale. The gods manifested their favor and their strength to the Aztecs by letting them prosper, but the Aztecs, on their part, had to sacrifice hearts to the gods to maintain their good will. A good part of the tribal prosperity emanated from military success, so that the most acceptable sacrifices were the hearts of adversaries, which were the hardest to acquire since prisoners could not be taken without military victory. A martial success, on the other hand, could only be achieved through the exercise of divine favor. Thus sacrifice led to war and war back to sacrifice, in an unending series of expanding cycles. The effect that this practice had on foreign affairs we shall describe in the next chapter. (See Plate 60, top.)

War captives were the most esteemed offering, and the braver and higher in rank, the more valuable they were. Slaves were killed for minor ceremonies, and in rare instances women and children were slain in fertility rites to ensure growth in plants by the powers of sympathetic magic.

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CHAPTER XII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND WAR

The relationships of Aztec tribes to each other in peace and war, the nature of the Aztec domain and methods of military organization and warfare

THE COMMUNITY or tribe was the center of the political and economic life of the Aztecs. Existence depended on the favor of the gods, who participated directly in the tribal fortunes, so that the degree of elaboration of the ceremonial structures was an accurate gauge of tribal prosperity. A man's position in the civil life of the community had a corresponding level in the hierarchy, since conspicuous fulfillment of civil obligations entailed an equal attainment in piety and observance of ritual. The basic design for living was a communal agriculture. The early tribal existence sought to achieve this pattern by avoiding other peoples and finding new land to settle. There is an essential affinity between agriculture and political isolation, just as commerce and manufacture require successively broader political contacts.[1]

In the early history of the Valley of Mexico there appear to have been a series of small isolated settlements which carried on a vague process of exchange. The Toltec civilization seems to have attained uniform development over a wide area spread by a population which gradually filled up unoccupied territory. There was little to suggest war or con-

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174 quest at first. Later civil disintegration caused the Toltec decline, and the character of the Valley was transformed. Formerly, tribes had slowly grown in numbers until dense occupation of a previously unpopulated territory took place. But in the Chichimec period men were driven from their home territories by various factors, of which overpopulation may have been one, vague unrest another, and set out in search of new land. While the goal of each group of immigrants may well have been to settle and farm in peaceful isolation, the very process of movement must have brought war and consequent readjustments in the social organization.

642 Throughout Chichimec times and into the Aztec period as well, the political unit was a tribe, dwelling in its own village, supported by its own land. Even though a tribe might grow to thousands of members, the village become transformed into a city-state, and the communal lands cease to support the population, no real shift in political organization took place. No leader developed the concept of empire so successfully applied by the Incas of Peru. The group experience of the Indians was to colonize new land but, with perhaps the sole exception of Peru, never to incorporate, through conquest, weaker communities into their own tribe.

167 However, when the tribe became too unwieldly to migrate en masse, an adjustment had to be made between population and food supply. One method was for part of the population to break away and join another community whose economic resources were relatively unexploited. As an illustration we have the case of the Chimalpanecs and the Culhuas, who joined the nascent community of Texcoco to the vast benefit of its material and intellectual culture.[8]

651 648 The more usual means of adjusting food supply to popula-

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ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[1]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

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361 Approaching along the causeway, the traveler of that time
174 passed first between expanses of open water. Then gradually tiny islands of green appeared, made of masses of mud dredged up from the bottom of the shallow lake and held
[241 in place by wickerwork. White-clad farmers dexterously
311 poled their tiny dugouts through the maze as they went
501] about the cultivation of their gardens. These irregular islets merged gradually into a more orderly grouping where the accumulation of soil had become stabilized as the roots, striking downward, had established anchorage in the lake bottom and created solid ground. This artificially made land reduced the open water of the lake to mere canals. (See Plate 37, bottom.)

[363 Save for the broad causeways, roads there were none; and
505] along the canals the traveler saw, in increasing numbers, boatloads of produce headed toward the city. Here and there among the green of the crops and trees he caught glimpses of thatched roofs and wattled walls, the huts of the farmers. Then adobe walls of more substantial dwellings began to encroach on the gardens, and the waters of the lake shrank to a canal following the roadway. The adobe walls gave way to the fronts of more pretentious houses plastered white or washed with powdered pumice, a dull, rich red. Now the visitor could realize how the city expanded through the successive creation of artificial islands which bore first a crop, then a modest hut and finally became integral with the masonry of the city proper.

363 The causeway had now changed from a simple means of
174 communication into a principal street with all its social complexity. Since canals took the place of roads, space for a saunter was so rare that the causeways were as much recrea-

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tion grounds as arteries of traffic. Thus people out to see the sights, people on errands, people on their way to the myriad functions of religious import, swallowed up the long lines of trotting carriers who, bowed under their burdens, went to the city with produce and tribute or left with goods for barter. Not a wheel turned or a pack animal neighed; transport was on the backs of men or in the bottoms of boats.

Outside the city limits the monotony of antlike columns of laden folk had been but rarely relieved by the passage of a civil functionary, all pomp and feathers, or by a stern merchant with a handful of fighting men, followed by a chain of apprentices, showing the whites of their eyes as they peered from under the press of their tumplines. Now could be seen clan leaders, wearing rich mantles and sniffing flowers as they watched the milling crowd, and black-robed priests whose ears were shredded and whose hair was matted with the blood of self-inflicted penance. There was little sound, little hurry, save for the carriers trotting to reach relief from their burdens. There was an intense vitality, nonetheless, that of a multitude of units participating in complex action, knowing each its allotted part but never the substance of the whole. (See Plates 33–36.)

A glance into the doorway of a house gave welcome relief from the cold-blooded, almost insectlike quality of life outside. A shaded patio was flanked by buildings whose interiors were cool and spacious. Mats and straw cushions on the polished red of the cement floor welcomed the visitor to repose, while the rhythmic clap of hands and the scrape of stone on stone told that tortillas were being made and corn meal ground in a kitchen at the back. Seated in a corner, an elderly man was talking to two small boys, whose

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serious faces showed that, already conscious of their participation in the tribal life, they heeded their uncle's precepts as to conduct befitting boys and men. A fat little girl squatting in the doorway vainly tried to imitate with her stubby fingers and toy implements the graceful movements of her mother as she produced fine threads by the cunning manipulation of her spindle. Lolling on a cushion, a young man idly smoked a cigarette in a cane holder as he picked thoughtfully at the scarcely healed lobe of his ear, tattered by penitential bloodletting with cactus spine and obsidian blade.

A fiesta was going on in another house, and one heard the rich vibration of wooden drums and the high squeal of reed flutes. The patio was full of people, gay in the bright colors of their holiday clothes, and the air was heavy with the cloying scent of lilies. The sharp smells of rich sauces cunningly mixed from many peppers embroidered this odor, and occasionally a light breeze wafted the cool, mystic scent of incense. Somebody was celebrating his birthday, since in the background one saw a painted figure adorned with amate paper, representing the god who presided over that event. A little apart from the feasters, who partook of their entertainment with dignified pleasure, were a group of old men whose clownish gestures and burlesque solemnity could be easily associated with the cups of pulque that a slave was industriously filling for them. Not for nothing had these elders passed through the rigid self-denial of young manhood; they were permitted alcoholic indulgence in their old age whenever a feast came to pass. A last backward glance revealed the musicians, garlanded with flowers, blowing their flutes and conch shells, while one man beat the head of a cylin-

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drical drum and another the wooden tongues in the side of the two-toned *teponaztli*.

Farther up the street the priests seemed to increase in number. More individuals wore the trappings of high office, such as nodding panaches of quetzal plumes and cloaks, the designs of which were worked in feathers like the personal insignia on their circular shields. Evidently the visitor was near the center of the town, and presently the causeway ended in a great open square, where the temples rose above the majestic planes of their pyramidal foundations. In the hard bright light of early afternoon, heat waves joined the smoke of incense in rendering indistinct and unearthly the outlines of the temples.

The short black shadows suggested unspeakable things. Was it imagination or reality, that sickening smell of a filthy butcher shop, that hung in the air in revolting contrast to the immaculate pavement of the temple courtyard? Imagination is too personal and egocentric a sensation for an Indian community, and the great block of the skull rack gave an answer only too firmly founded on fact. Thousands of skulls, threaded on poles, were piled up in orderly symmetry, and the black cavities of their orbits and nasal apertures suggested the marks on infernal dice. Undisturbed by this monument to human sacrifice, a few young men were practicing in a ball court near by. They thrust at a solid rubber ball with agile hips and elbows, in an effort to drive it through two rings set transversely to the walls in the length of the court.

A circular stone placed a short distance away was the scene of a most cruel game. Here, on certain ceremonial days, a tethered captive was forced to defend himself with a wooden club against the onslaught of an adversary whose weapon

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

was set with razor-sharp obsidian blades. Usually he was killed in the most honorable of deaths, that of sacrificial victim to the Sun God, Tonatiuh, but sometimes he would resist so successfully that he gained a pardon. Other disk-shaped stones were placed about the plaza. One, thirteen feet in diameter, was set vertically on a special platform. Carved with a consummate mastery of design, it represented the symbolic history of the world. Another disk, set flat, was hollowed in the center, so that hearts wrung from war captives might be burned to nourish the great gods. This was carved on its surface and edge to commemorate the many conquests of War Chief Tizoc, who was shown dressed as a god, with his captives before him.

In another part of the plaza a sacrifice was to be made. Before a small temple dedicated to one of the myriad Aztec gods a group was gathered, some in the gay panoply of merchants and others wearing the sinister black of the priesthood. A tightly pinioned slave stood in their midst and looked unseeingly before him, resignation, not fear, on his face. The priests rushed him up the steep steps of the temple, followed by the merchants at a more leisurely pace. Two priests seized the slave by either arm, forcing him backward, while two others pulled his legs from under him until his body curved, belly upward, over the altar. A fifth priest plowed his flint knife in a long sweep from the breastbone to the base of the stomach and, reaching into the aperture, with a dexterous twist tore out the heart. This he burned, while it was still throbbing, in a carved stone vase, while the merchants, swinging long ladles of smoking incense, chanted their thanks for a safe and profitable excursion into the hot country. (See Plate 60.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with downcast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 644 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings [367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 517 174 The highway to Tlaṭelolco extended north from this great plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 174 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Astec NU7

life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenoehtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

row of vendors of implements and tools, such as obsidian blades, carved and burnished pottery, spindle whorls, deer-horn awls, bone bodkins and a few copper axes and needles. A brilliant mass of color characterized the booths of the feather salesmen. Some sold merely bunches of plumes, the lovely green of the quetzal, or trogon, and the multicolored plumage of parrots. At the other stands feather cloaks, mats and shields gave evidence of charming fancy in their design and patient toil in their execution. (See Plates 38–39.)

Jewelers displayed jade ornaments and gold worked into precious rings of filigree or massive beaten gorgets. It was the jade, however, that caught the envious eye and was produced with furtive circumspection as a material of great price. Other merchants sold ornaments of shell, and the pinks, whites and subtle mottled browns of sea shells contrasted with the rich dark sheen of tortoise carapaces. At one booth a rich warrior earnestly bargained with the proprietor for an exquisite pair of earplugs, cunningly inlaid with a mosaic of turquoise and mother-of-pearl.

The smiling whispers and admiring glances of the crowd at the jeweler's abruptly changed in the slave quarters to appraising stares. Some of the chattels wore wooden collars, and their brutish faces had a hopeless expression. These had sunk to servitude long ago as a result of crime or of capture in war. Others were thin and emaciated but did not wear the collar of bondage. They had met with misfortune and were selling themselves for the first time to ensure food and shelter.

A low hum rose from the market place; there was none of the strident shouting of the European fair. The bargaining for goods was carried on slowly, quietly, but, nonetheless,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 438 keenly. The Aztecs had no money, so that barter was the usual means of purchase. The cacao bean, however, had a standard value, and this, in equalizing exchanges, performed the nearest approach to the function of currency. Passing [625] through the crowd were warriors who acted as police and, should a disagreement arise, haled disputants into a court where a tribal elder settled the question in his capacity as judge.

174 346 361 Beyond the market was a double line of walls which divided the market from the temple precinct of Tlaltelolco. Rectangular buildings, with patios in their centers, housed the priests and the various schools and councils of the central organization of the community. Farther on were grouped the principal shrines. In their midst the great temple to the War God shouldered its bulk into the sky. There was a skull rack here, like the one in Tenochtitlan, and another heap was made of the bones of the victims. Near the great pyramid stood a circular temple, the door of which was built to resemble the mouth of a serpent, the place of worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. The sacrificial block in front was black with the smoke of incense and the blood of victims. A pile of stone knives and axes gave a sinister indication of what rites were practiced there.

[312] Pools fed by the pipes of an aqueduct leading from the mainland gave an impression of quiet peace. The reflections of the temples, distorted occasionally by the breeze, intensified the brooding mysticism of the sacred enclosure. In contrast to the austerity of the priests, young girls, their eyes virtuously downcast, slipped back and forth, carrying out the various errands of their training school within the enclosure. The great pyramid and the temple of the War God

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impression of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

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The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

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It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Berral Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

conception of city states within the Valley that owes much to the history of Greece and medieval Italy.

For the special purpose of this limnologic history, we need to wade into the "inextricable maraña" at only one or two points. On one point the sources, such as they are, are almost unanimous: there was a city called Tollán or Tula ("place of reeds" i. e. of *Typha*, the modern *tule*). Tollán is where the Toltecs came from, etymologically at least; the Toltecs were the predecessors of the Aztecs and the other Valley peoples, and were also regarded as ancestors by the Mexicanized Mayas of Yucatán, with whose tangled history we are fortunately not concerned here. The chief source of confusion, apart from the loss of the documents themselves, is the tendency, surely not a post-Conquest invention, for the relatively barbaric Valley people to identify themselves dynastically with the legendary founders of the civilization they inherited. The cultural picture is not an unfamiliar one, and probably was in actuality similar to that presented by the Etruscan foundations of Roman civilization; unfortunately, it comes to us on the testimony of friars who were only too well aware of such historic parallels, and could not refrain from asking leading questions. Be that as it may, Vaillant (1941), on the basis of archaeologic and historic researches, arrived at a satisfying conception of Aztec prehistory, in which the real and classic Tula (Tollán) was Teotihuacán, while memories of it played out their part in synthetic genealogies of "dynastic Toltecs", the chiefs of the wandering "Chichimec" tribes who entered the Valley after the decline of Tula in the 12th century.

Vaillant's picture was considerably upset by the excavations at Tula, Hidalgo (Acosta, 1940, 1941, 1944; see also Du Solier, 1941, and other papers in *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, T. 5, no. 2–3, 1941). These showed clearly that Tula, not Teotihuacán, was the Tollán from which emanated the Mexicanization of Chichén Itzá. Thus Tula was the Mayas' Tula, but whether it was necessarily the Mexicans' Tula is not so easily admitted, and is still in sharp dispute. What interests us here is whether Tula was a lacustrine city, for Teotihuacán was not.

The Codex Ramírez, authoritatively regarded as a manuscript copy of the *Relación del origén de los yndios*, probably 1583–87, by the Mexican Jesuit Juan de [illegible]ar (see Kubler and Gibson, 1951, for discussion), is one of several almost identical histories of the migration period from the Aztec (i. e. not from the Texcocan) point of view. It happens to be the only one of which a convenient English translation exists (Radin, 1920), and from it we quote the following account of Tula.

"The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

arrived at the town called Tula, quite diminished in numbers on account of the divisions that had taken place. There they remained some time, replenishing their provisions and increasing their number, living in a cerro called Cohuatepec, that is to say, the snake-mountain. Here, in dreams, their idol ordered his priests to deflect the water of a very full river that flowed through that region so that it might spread over the whole valley and then be brought to the middle of the mountain on which they were living, for he wished to show them the appearance of the land he had promised them. They constructed the dyke and the water spread out and extended over the whole valley, turning it into a very beautiful lagoon lined with willows, poplars, and sabines. In the lagoon grew many rushes and reeds, and on that account the place was called Tula, meaning the-place-of-the-rushes (*junca*) or reeds (*espadaña*).

"The place soon abounded in fish and waterfowl, such as ducks, herons, *gallareta* [coots], with which, together with many other species of birds, the entire lagoon seemed to be completely covered. And to the present day the lagoon of Mexico abounds in these animals.[5] The place was thickly covered with rushes (*carrizales*) and marine flowers, and inhabited by differently colored thrushes, some red, others yellow, which were accustomed to gather at the place and which harmonized with the songbirds in the trees, of which there were quite a number; all this making the place delightful and pleasant, and as such it was painted in their books.

"The Mexicans, quite oblivious to what their idol had told them, namely that this place was merely an imitation and pattern of the land they were to be given, stayed in this delightful place (a long time) and began to feel that it was quite satisfactory, some even saying that they desired to stay there permanently, and that this was really the place selected by their god Huitzilopochtli; that it was from that place that they were to follow their desires, being the rulers of the four parts of the world, etc.

"Their idol, seeing this, waxed so angry that he said to the priests, 'Who are these who thus wish to transgress and put obstacles in the way of my orders and commands? Are they perhaps greater than my-

[5] The *Crónica Mexicana* of Alvarado Tezozomoc (1598), another of this group of closely similar histories, is more explicit about these animals, listing frogs, *axolotl*, *camarón*, *axayácatl*, *izcauitli* and *tecuitlatl*, and adds that the Mexicans regarded the red *izcauitli* (identified above as Ephydridae, but possibly Chironomidae in this context) as the body and blood of the war god Huitzilopochtli (Orozco y Berra's edition, 1878, p. 228). A more probable explanation of the attribution of red color to *izcauitli* is that some one, not necessarily Tezozomoc, confused the Nahuatl words *iztatl*, salt, and *eztli*, blood.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7

self? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is to obey'. Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

"Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A. D."

– – Radin's translation, 1920, pp. 73–74.

This circumstantial account, alas, cannot be taken as showing that there was an artificial lake at Tula. The more operational suggestion that emerges is that Tula, as understood by Tovar's Aztec informants, was whatever place can be shown to have had an artificial lake. But even this suggestion is hardly worth following up, as the following argument implies.

The "pure" glyph for Tollán (Tula), as it occurs in the Codex Xólotl (Dibble 1951) and the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938) consists (Figure 3) of a row of cattails, *Typha* (identified as *Cyperus flavicomus* Michx. by Clark, whose botanical identifications are undocumented and not always reliable). In the *Tira de la peregrinación México* (Anonymous, 1944), commonly known outside Mexico as the Codex Boturini, we have an Aztec pictorial history that is somewhat more influenced by European draughtsmanship; it shows Tula (Figure 2) as cattails in a lake, accompanied by a large-scaled fish that looks remarkably like a carp. Tula is also shown in the pictures that accompany Tovar's *Relación* (the Codex Ramírez, Orozco y Berra's edition, 1944, Lam. II), which, like the text, represent a version of Diego Durán's

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

might occasionally have raised, as well as upon the chase. But during this very period also, their chief divinity and subsequent principal idol, Huitzilopochtli, god of war, is reported to have uttered these prophetic words: "And I was sent on this journey, and "my office it is to carry arms, bows, arrows, and shields; war is my "chief duty, and the object of my coming. I have to look out in "all directions, and with my body, head and arms, have to do my "duty in many tribes, being on the borders and lying in wait for "many nations, to maintain and to gather them, although not gra-"ciously." Proceeding to state a number of objects, *subsequently* given to the Mexicans in tribute, he closes as follows: "All this I "shall own and hold, for I am sent after it, it being my office, and "I came for this purpose."[4] Imbued with a spirit of which this utterance is merely a legendary form, the Mexicans made their appearance among the agricultural tribes of the valley of Mexico as a crowd of famished, but desperate, intruders, were received as such, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to take refuge in a naturally isolated spot of dry land, surrounded by swamps and marshes.[5]

In this defensive position, which the Mexicans subsequently converted into the strongest one ever occupied by Indians up to the 16th century,[6] they carefully nursed and developed their war-

[4] Tezozomoc (Cap. I, p. 6). Joseph de Acosta (Historia natural y moral de las Indias, 1608. Lib. VII, chap. IV, p. 459). M. Brasseur de Bourbourg ("Popol-vuh, "Intr., p. 127 and p. 140.") intimates Huitzilopochtli to be a myth common to all the aborigines of Central America in general.

[5] The spot to which the Mexicans fled, and which subsequently became the nucleus of Tenochtitlan, and of Tlatilulco, was *dry land*, in the midst of canes and reeds. (Tezozomoc, cap. I, p. 5, "porque el dia que llegaron a esta laguna Mexicana, en medio "de ella estava, y tenia un sitio de tierra, y en el una peña.") Fray Gèronimo de Mendieta (Historia ecclesiastica Indiana," published by my most esteemed friend, Señor J. G. Icazbalceta, the learned Mexican scholar, in 1870. Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148. "Y luego se hicièron fuertes en este sitio, tomando por muralla y cerca las aguas y "emboscadas de la juncia y carrizales y matorrales de que estaba entonces poblada y "llena toda la laguna, que no hallaron el agua descubièrta sino en sola una encrucijada "de agua limpia desocupada de los matorrales y carrizales, formada a' manera de una "aspa de San Andrés. Y casi al medio de la encrucijada hallaron un peñasco"). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. X, pp. 91 and 92. "En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos "en el libro de los Poblaciones) haciendo unas pobres, y pequeñas choças, rodeados "de carrizo, y Espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli," etc., etc. (Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 465. " . . . . y dividiendóse una parte y otra, por toda aquella espessura "de espadañas, y carrizales, y juncia de la laguna, commençaron á buscar por las señas "de la revelacion el lugar tan deseado.")

[6] There was, to my knowledge, but one similar position: that of Atitlan, in Guatemala. (See: Segunda Relacion por Pedro de Alvarado á Hernando Cortes, 28 July, 1524, pp. 460, 461 and 462, of Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Don Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.) The tribe was regarded as very fierce, also.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

purpose of describing institutions to which this foreign terminology never was adapted. It is this expedient, invented in order to become *understood abroad*, and because there were no other points of comparison given by science at that time, which opposes the greatest difficulties to the study of American antiquities. This obstacle may, to a certain extent, be overcome by establishing the true signification of the *native term* for every institution considered, for every office, as far as this is possible; using *native terminology* as indicative of the true character of *native life*. This course we shall attempt to pursue, in treating the military organization of the Mexicans.[75]

The tribe of Mexico had, soon after its settlement in the marsh where the pueblo was subsequently built up, divided into four sections, or "quarters" ("calpulli"),[76] each of these being composed of certain clusters of kindred, "minor quarters," as Torquemada call them.[77] The four great quarters remained as the principal sub-divisions of the tribe for civil as well as military purposes, and the armed men of each constituted a separate body, regardless of

[75] Thus the Mexican word for tribe, town, and settlement is the same: "altepetl," but the Spaniards have applied it to king also (Molina, II, p. 4). The name "tlatoani," which the Mexicans gave to their principal chiefs, and which is translated into king, signifies "one who speaks" ("hablador," Molina, II, p. 141), from "nitlatoa," to speak ("tlatolli," speech). The council was called "tlatocan," "place of speech," but Molina translates it as "court or palace of great lords." The term "speech," or, rather, the verb "to speak," is found in a number of native terms, like "tlatoca-icpalli," "seat of the one who speaks," which has been rendered, also, as "throne." There is certainly no approach to a royal title in all this. The so-called "King" was only "one of those who spoke;" a prominent member of the council. A court of justice, "audiencia," was also "tecutlatoloyan," or "chiefs who are speaking, or bowing their heads."

[76] Durán (Cap. V, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 467). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 9). Herrera (Dec. III, lib II, cap. II, p. 61). "Popol Vuh." Introduction, p. 117, note No. 1, by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus "sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil." Tlatilulco, which was conquered by the Mexicans in 1473, subsequently formed a fifth "quarter." The names of the four original ones were: "Teopan" (place of God), "Aztacalco" (house of the herons), "Moyotlan" (place of the musquito), and "cuepopan." They subsequently formed, under Spanish rule, the *wards* of San Pablo, San Juan, Santa María la Redonda, and San Sebastian. Tlatilulco became the "Indian-ward," and was called Santiago.

[77] (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 543) " . . . . y así estaba ordenado, que en cada pueblo, "conforme tenia el numero, y cantidad de gente, huviese parcialidades de diversas "gentes, y familias. . . . . Estas Parcialidades estaban repartidas por Calpules, "que son Barrios, y sucedia, que una Parcialidad de estas dichas tenia tres, y quatro, "y mas, Calpules, conforme la gente tenia el pueblo, ..." Durán (Cap. V, p. 42) is more explicit, even. After having stated that the Mexicans divided into four principal quarters, he says: "their god commanded them that they should distribute among "themselves the gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular "quarters where these gods would be worshipped; and thus each quarter divided into

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 numbers.[78] They in turn subdivided into squads of from two to
619 four hundred warriors each,[79] being, in all probability, the able-
701 bodied males (priests excepted in many cases) of one particular "kin."[80] These lesser bodies had each their own peculiar "livery,"[81] they carried their own emblem, visible, like a banner, "high above the troop," and finally they disaggregated into fractions of about twenty men.[82] On the eve of an engagement a further sub-division, into groups of four to six, took place, as we shall hereafter see.

701 Having thus sketched, as far as we can, the *division* or *arrange-*
555 *ment* of the Mexican forces, we have yet to investigate how, and by whom, the warriors of the tribe were commanded, how those leaders obtained their offices, and what was the order of their rank and dignity. But here we must premise: *that no office whatever,*

many small ones, according to the number of idols, which they called Calpulteona" (should be "Calpulteotzin"). But their division into at least seven such "barrios," or kindred groups, existed already before this event (Tezozomoc, Cap. I, p. 6. Durán, Cap. III, p. 29). "Rapport sur les differentes classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne," par Alonzo de Zurita. French translation by Mr. Ternaux-compans. This important authority, among other statements, makes the striking remark: "Finally, what is called "in New-Spain a calpulli corresponds to what the Jews called a tribe" (p. 53).

[78] Tezozomoc (Cap. XCI, p. 161). When, under the last Montezuma, the fight against Huexotzinco was begun "Cuaulnoctli took charge to assemble together the four leaders of the four quarters for that the arms might be held in readiness."

[79] Anonymous Conqueror (p. 371). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIV).

[80] These bodies of two to four hundred men are those mentioned by Durán (Cap. XIX, p. 169) as "cuadrillas," "escadrones," carrying each the "emblem" ("bandera") of its "quarter" ("barrio"). In this case he refers to the "minor quarters." See note No. 82, below.

[81] "Anonymous Conqueror;" also, Bernal-Diaz, quoted in text, above.

[82] Anon. Conqueror (p. 371). "ha ogni compagnia il suo Alfiere con la sua insigna "inhastata, en tal modo ligata sopra le spalle, che non gli da alcun distorbo di poter "combattere ni far cioche vuole, y la porta cosi ligata bene al corpo, che se non fanno "del suo corpo pezzi, non se gli puo stigare, ne torglielamai." Clavigero says (Cap. XXIV, lib. VII): "The banners were more like the "signi" of the Romans than our "flags." The following paragraph of Durán makes it plain that they represented the token of each original body of kindred: "After having eaten, the captains said to their "people: behold, men, that being intermingled with the enemy, some of you might "lose sight of his squadron, therefore Tlacaelel ordains that of each quarter there shall "be an emblem, carried high above the troop, with the arms of such quarter on it, and "that all shall be careful to rally around that banner and flag, and that, besides, they "should call out the names of their respective quarter, so as to be known" (Cap. XIX, p. 169). We have ample descriptions of the emblems of the four quarters of Tlaxcallan, but none of those of Mexico. It is doubtful if there was a national emblem, or central ensign. The statement, that the capture of that central "emblem" decided the fate of the battle, is also very doubtful, notwithstanding Bernal-Diez' pompous description of the fight near Otumpan. See hereafter. It may not be devoid of interest to note here that the Mexican sign for the number *twenty* (20,—"pohualli") was a *flag*. Still, the name for the latter was "quachpanitl," from "quachtli," mantle, and "panl," above.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Cortés might have quietly *waited* for these two terrible allies to do their work almost alone, had it not been for two reasons: 174 726

The principal reason was, that his position was not secure among the fickle Indian tribes, which the thirst for revenge, the lust of spoil, and dazzling success on his part had temporarily attached to his fate. A protracted siege lay beyond the military conceptions, nay, beyond the military *ability* of the Indians. They could not remain outside of their homes for such a length of time.[206]

On the other hand, the Mexicans, equally unprepared for a lengthy defence, compelled him to aggressive action.

Resorting to their only mode of warfare where a sudden dash with overwhelming numbers was not any longer possible,[207] they made a number of feints, with the intention of drawing their enemies into an ambush. Moving against the Spaniards and their allies upon the causeways, they precipitately fled towards the first cut as soon as that onslaught was repulsed. When the pursuers arrived there, they would be charged in flank by heavy bodies of warriors, while in front it rained missiles of every kind upon them from behind the embankments erected on the inner side of the ditches.[208] The Spaniards, however, knew too well how disastrous

[206] Bernal-Diez (Cap. CLIII, p. 186, Vedia II) "Dejemos de hablar de los grandes "combates que nos daban; y digamos como nuestros amigos los de Tlascala y de Cholu- "la y Guaxocingo, y aun los de Tezcuco, acordaron de se ir á sus tierras." They were disheartened, says the old captain (p. 189), but there is no wonder, since the place had not been carried, Indian-fashion, at a rush, and thus they grew tired of waiting.

It is the most decisive testimony in favor of our views, heretofore already expressed, that the Mexican Indians were not able to carry on a protracted campaign, still less a siege of any duration.

[207] During the siege, there is hardly any doubt but that the Indian allies of Cortés *outnumbered the Mexicans*. It would be, of course, unsafe to rely upon the numerical statements of the old authorities. They all vary. But if we only recollect that Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, Cholula, Chalco, Tezcuco, and some of the other main tribes joined the Spaniards, it necessarily convinces us that the numerical superiority was on the side of the besiegers. The great art of Cortés lay in consolidating the forces of these different tribes, which otherwise, in many cases, were enemies of long standing. With the Spaniards *as their leaders*, the fate of Mexico was sealed, provided they held out long enough. In all the engagements, the European soldiers formed but the nucleus around which their allies agglomerated. If they advanced, the others followed, occupying always so many of the Mexicans, and diverting them from falling too heavily upon the whites. In proportion, however, as the power of the Mexicans gave out, the deeds of the allies of Cortés grew more prominent, since there were more non-combatants to slaughter.

[208] The bridges had all been removed, and entrenchments constructed *behind* them. Besides, pits had been dug, with earthworks on both sides, for the express purpose of arresting the cavalry. Long lances, armed with sword blades captured from the Spaniards during the "Noche triste," were used by the Mexicans to attack the horsemen. Against the brigantines, rows of pointed piles had been rammed in below the surface of

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL, pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamiento de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir- "nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu- "ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para les ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eran tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron tres; y aunque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendí, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como allí nos tuvieron, digo que car- "garon tanta multitud de gue.reros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi- "enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci- "ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on American topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . . "[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit* of *definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 63. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 23 May, 1556, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh." Introduction, page CXi). Clavigero's Chronology begins 808 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2337 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tulantzinco in 667 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 111, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Texcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 15) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 808 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU8

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174

a common origin, while the sedentary tribes were still further connected together by the bond of language,—and that the original home of these people lay to the north of Mexican territory. We further can infer, that even the sedentary tribes, among which the TOLTECS are most conspicuous, had nowhere advanced to the condition of a *nation* or *state; political society*, based upon territory and landed property, being unknown to them. Their institutions appear to have been *democratic*, their manner of living *communal*, thus excluding the idea of feudality altogether; even at those remote periods of Mexican history.[7] The usual inter-tribal wars,

P
114
174

[7] Our information in regard to the Toltecs is limited and obscure. The name itself appears to be a surname: "Toltecatl"—"official, de arte mecanica, o maestro" (Molina, Vocabulario, Parte II. p. 149). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37) "I merely say, that Tulteca signifies a skilled worker . . ." Veytia (Vol. I, cap. XXI, pp. 205 and 206). Sahagun ("Historia general de las cosas de Nueva-España," edited by Don Carlos Maria de Bustamante, Vol. III. Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 106). "First the Tultecas, signifying excellent workmen . . ." (p. 107) "y no tenian otro nombre particular sino este que tomaron de la curiosidad, y primor de las obras que hacian, que se llamaron obras tultecas, ó sea como si digesemós, officiales pulidos y curiosos . . ." Their proper name, as we shall hereafter see, was "Chichimecas,"—in common with all the aborigines of Mexico. Even such tribes as are reported to have preceded them, like the Xicalancas and Olmecas, are connected with reports indicating the same origin. Thus Motolinia ("Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España" in Sr. Icazbalceta's "Coleccion de Documentos," Vol. I), says: ("Epistola proemial," p. 7), that the Xicalancas and Mexicans descended from sons of the same father. Gomara ("Conquista de Méjico," Vedia I. p. 432), says the same, and also that "Olmecatlh" was one of their brothers, and that from him the Olmecas descended. Sahagun, however (Lib. X. p. 147), contradicts, excluding these Olmecas, Vistoti, and Nonoualca" from the general appellation of Chichimecas, but includes nearly all the other tribes of Mexico under a common origin. But Veytia seems to consider the Olmecas and Xicalancas as descending from the same stock as the Toltecs (Vol. I. cap. XIII. p. 150); though his statements might be more positive yet. The Toltec language was the "Nahuatl," a fact too frequently mentioned to need any further quotations. Through it their connection with the tribes of the valley of Mexico, with the Tlaxcallans, Huexotzincas, Cholullans,—and also the Niquirans of Nicaragua is established beyond a doubt. Their division of time and numeral system (as far as the language allows a judgment), was the same as that of the natives of Michhuacan, Oajaca, Chiapas, Yucatan, and Guatemala. If we add to these indications those derived from local myths and legends, we become inclined to believe the reports, that the aborigines of Yucatan and Guatemala for instance, are direct descendants of the Toltecs, or at least from their original stock. This fact acquires a certain importance, since it enables us, from the condition of these tribes at the time of their first contact with the Spaniards, and from their local traditions, to judge partly of the status of the Toltecs, and perhaps to reconstruct their condition and organization of society.

In order to attempt an investigation of the true condition of Toltec society, we have to consider three different points which are the following: Reports about the Toltecs, contained in Mexican sources; since only in Mexico they were called by that name. Reports about the condition of the Toltecs in Mexico *after* their reported dispersion. The condition and organization of such tribes, outside of direct Mexican influence, which still acknowledged an original connection with what has been called the Toltecs in Mexico.

If we follow the traditions current in the Mexican valley, as reported *first* by father

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

as well between sedentary Indians and roving tribes, as among the

Sahagun (hardly any of his predecessors mentioning the Toltecs,—a fact not devoid of importance!) it simply appears that the Toltecs were sedentary people, therefore agricultural and proportionately skilled in the use of metals and stones (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, Vol. II). The same author, in his tale about the fortunes of Quetzalcohuatl, whom he acknowledged as distinctly connected with the fate of the Toltecs, says that (Lib. III, cap. V, p. 248, of Vol. I): the pueblo of Tollan had *two* chiefs,—that it was engaged in war with another tribe not far distant (Contepec, cap. VI, p. 249),—thus showing at the same time: that the Toltecs were not subject to a ruler residing in Tula, as is commonly reported, but that Tula (or Tollan) was the settlement of a tribe, without authority over any others. There are other indications, in this very legend of Quetzalcohuatl, to show that the Toltecs of Tula were very independent from their chiefs (See cap. VI to XI). Further on, if we follow the peregrinations of Quetzalcohuatl after the same authority, it strikes us that this mythical personage travels through a singularly disjointed country. Everywhere he meets strange places (Cap. XII to XIV), not subject to the tribe from which he originally went out.

Torquemada ("Monarchia Indiana," Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37), is more detailed. He asserts that the Toltecs were originally led by seven chiefs, but that after their settlement at Tollantzinco they elected a "king," establishing as a rule that no one of these so-called monarchs should "rule" any longer than fifty-two years, and that if he died previously "the republic governed until the expiration of the time." In his relation of the history of Quetzalcohuatl (Lib. III, cap. VII, pp. 254, 255, and 256), whom he distinctly connects with Tula, the same fact is mentioned as in Sahagun, namely; that the inhabitants of the country were divided into independent tribes, such as Tula, Cholula, Quauhquechollan and others.

It is, however, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, whose writings have furnished the chief material for the Toltec history. He gathered his facts from his kinsmen, and, he says, from ancient picture-writings which they explained to him ("Hist. des Chichimèques" Dedication to the vice-roy of Mexico p. XIII, and XIV). Also from songs. It is a slender basis for his otherwise very positive statements, since it may well be accepted that Toltec picture-writings did scarcely exist any more at his time, unless we except such as are analogous to the Dresden-Codex (Humboldt "Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes, etc." Plate XLV of the atlas in folio), regarding them as of Toltec origin. These, however, no Mexican native could have interpreted at that time.

Ixtlilxochitl also speaks of seven chiefs of the Toltecs ("Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entreux pour les gouverner." Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. II, p. 13; also "Segunda Relacion" in Vol. IX, p. 323, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico.") He equally mentions the 52 year period of the head-chief (Cap. II, p. 13), and in his "Tercera Relacion" (p. 325), but adds in the "Cuarta Relacion" (p. 336): "Este Mitl gobernó 50 años y quebró en la orden antigua de los Tultecas de gobernar 52 años."

But he also tells us in his Second "Relation" that at Tollantzinco "they constructed of planks a house large enough to accommodate the entire nation," and hints at a number of scattered settlements springing up, though he insists that these were all dependencies of a great Toltec "empire." Nevertheless, his description of the wars among the Toltecs ("quinta Relacion") is not in favor of the latter assumption.

It is mostly on such statements that Don Mariano Veytia has based the Toltec history which forms the beginning of the "Historia antigua de Méjico."—But the eminent Mexican scholar (he wrote about the middle of the 18th century) has added some other details, which we dare not neglect here.

In common with all the others, Veytia places the origin of the Toltecs to the North, where he locates the great city of Huehuetlapallan. Of this great city he says: "The houses in which they dwelt, as well in the city as in the other settlements were then (and for many centuries afterwards, although they had Kings and governments already) but natural caverns, which they also imitated. These were all their dwellings, they sub-

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3
Prehistoric Yucatan NV3

village-Indians themselves, were waged during these early periods.

sisted on *fruits*, herbs and the chase, and dressed in the skins of wild beasts . . . . ." (Vol. I, cap. III, p. 23.)—From this place there went out bands or families (Cap. II, p. 24), "taking each one a different name, after that of the chief or father of the family leading them," and one of these bands were the Toltecs.

These were again composed of seven lineages (Cap. XXI, p. 207), and the government "resided in the seven principal chiefs" (Cap. XXII, p. 214). Describing the peregrinations of this tribe until they reached central Mexico, he again mentions the large house made at Tollantzinco "in which when completed, all the people found room" (Cap. XXII, p. 221), and finally (Cap. XXIV, p. 227), the formal change made by free common consent of all the Toltecs, of their heretofore democratic government into a despotic monarchy, with descent in the male line, but the term of office of each of these despots limited to fifty-two years (Cap. XXV). We also read of a number of pueblos co-existing with Tollan, but reputed subject to it, in direct opposition to Sahagun and Torquemada, and even sometimes to himself. Of course, there are abundant details about the arts and sciences attributed to the Toltecs, the magnificence of their buildings, etc., etc. To all these we shall refer on another occasion. In regard to weapons and military costume Veytia confirms what we have already said (Art of War, p. 126, and note No. 134), about the great analogy between the Mexicans proper and other tribes of older date (See cap. XXXIII, p. 289).

Veytia was the precursor and cotemporary of the Abbé Clavigero, but the latter's work, "Storia antica del Messico" was printed fifty-six years previous to the writings of the former. Clavigero's statements are, in a condensed form, but a repetition of those of Veytia, with whom he corresponded.

If we now attentively consider the above we shall readily see:

(1). That the Toltecs were descended from at least semi-nomades.

(2). They were organized in consanguine groups, governmentally sovereign, whose chiefs formed the council of the tribe.

(3). They possessed a head war-chief, elected for life, since the limitation of the office for fifty-two years is in itself a concession, that the incumbent held it for life-time.

(4). They practised communism in living.

(5). Consequently, their organization and institution was democratic, not monarchical, and the picture of a feudal empire among them is erroneous.

It is generally admitted that in the 10th or 11th century of our era, the Toltecs of Mexico were dispersed; only a few settlements remaining. Of these the principal were removed to Texcuco "where they founded four quarters, since the Culhuas, as the Toltecs were then called, formed four families" (Ixtlilxochitl, "Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XIII, p. 67. Mr. Ternaux has translated "tribes" but the Spanish original has "families.") This is a further evidence of what we have advanced, the four quarters being consanguine groups localized, or "gentes," as Mr. Morgan has established the term in "Ancient Society." Feudalism, however, is incompatible with gentile society.

Those of the Toltecs who emigrated are reported to have fled to the South where perhaps others of their language had preceded them. Among such as have been reported of the same origin, the Maya of Yucatan, and the QQuichè of Guatemala are most prominent. Sr. Orozco y Berra, in his excellent work "Geografia de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México," regards the Maya and QQuichè as sister-languages (Part I, cap. IV, p. 16). If the assumption is correct that they are of Toltec descent, the reports about the condition of these tribes at the time of the conquest, or in their undisturbed aboriginal condition, are of weight for this discussion.

Yucatan, at the time of its first discovery (1517), was inhabited by numerous sedentary tribes, not connected with each other (Bernal Diaz del Castillo, "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España," cap. XXIX, p. 34, in Vedia, Vol. II. Villagutierre y Sotomayor "Historia de la Conquista y Reduccion de los Itzaex y Lacandones,"

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Yucatan NV3
Prehistoric Guatemala NW3

Sometimes the latter, then again the savages prevailed, until A 174

Lib. I, cap. V, p. 29 and 30. Antonio de Herrera "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano," Dec. IV, Lib. X, cap. II, p. 206, and cap. III, p. 208); except through their common language. These tribes consisted of Lineages or consanguine groups. Herrera says (Dec. IV, Lib. X, Cap. IV, p. 211): "They are very proud of their ancestry, by which they all regarded themselves as relatives, assisting each other greatly. Their style of living was communal. Lorenzo de Bienvenida, in his letter to the Emperor, dated 10th February, 1548, Yucatan ("Recueil de pièces relatives à la Conquête du Méxique") states: "Your highness must know that it is very rare to find a house with but one inhabitant, all have two, three, four, six, and even more, among which the father of a family is chief (p. 331). When, in 1698, the last pueblo inhabited by Maya Indians,—Tayasál on Lake Peten, was captured by Don Martin Ursúa, it was found that the houses "were dirty within and unswept. All the inhabitants lived brutally together, an entire relationship together in one single house." (Hist. de la Conquista de los Itzaex, Lib. VIII, cap. XII, p. 494). We have already alluded to the fact the Itzaex had two chiefs. ("Art of War," p. 136, note No. 121. The information is taken from the work just mentioned, Lib. VIII). See further, on the Maya, L. H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" (Part II, chapter VI. p. 181). These indications do not, certainly, speak in favor of feudality among the natives of Yucatan. P Y 114 174

The territory of Guatemala, when first visited by Pedro de Alvarado, in 1524, was also divided into a number of sedentary tribes, living in bitter enmity together. Of these tribes the QQuiché of Utlatlan or rather Gumarcaah, near where Santa Cruz del Quiché now stands, are best known. Their history has been written by Juarros ("Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala," 1808–1818), who especially bases upon the MSS. of the Captain Francisco Antonio Fuentes y Guzman, who wrote about 1690. a "Recordacion florida" now acknowledged to be full of exaggerations and misstatements. Juarros makes the QQuiché direct descendants of the Toltecs, and after their settlement in Guatemala under a certain King named "Nimaquiché," he gradually builds up there a mighty feudal Empire, which was in its splendor when the Spaniards overthrew it. The empire is already disproved by the first two letters of Alvarado (See Vol. I of Vedia's collection), by Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. V, Cap. X, p. 166), who also states (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVIII, p. 141), that the QQuiché had three chiefs "and that the election was made by the principals in the same way, as it has been told of Mexico," Torquemada (Lib. XII, Cap. VIII, p. 386), goes still further by asserting that the heads of families ("los que eran Cabeças de Familias ó Casas Solariegos") had the right to kill the "king" for misdemeanor. He also considers the Toltecs the first settlers. P G 114 174

But the document which conveys the most detailed information of the QQuiché is the "Popol-Vuh." This singular production, which we consult in its publication and translation by Mr. Brasseur de Bourbourg, appears to be, for the first chapters, an evident fabrication, or at least accommodation of Indian mythology to christian notions;—a pious fraud. But the bulk is an equally evident collection of original traditions of the Indians of Guatemala, and as such the most valuable work for the aboriginal history and ethnology of Central America. We cannot here enter into a bibliographical discussion. A few quotations from the third part of the Popol-Vuh will, however, be indispensable (Cap. III, p. 207). After having given the names of the four *mothers* of the QQuiché: "Balam Quitzé is the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of Cavek; Balam Agab is the ancestor and father of the nine great houses of Ximhalb; Mahucutah the ancestor and father of the four great houses of Ahau Quiché. They existed in three divisions of families without forgetting the name of their grandfather and of their father, which extended and grew in the East." This is the beginning of a true genealogy, and it is carried through with great precision.

Then follows a long description of how each of these "families" received an idol for itself, whereas "one was the name of their God, and they were divided afterwards" (Cap. IV, p. 217). Then they moved to "Tulan-Zuiva, at the seven caves, seven ravines." At that time they had yet but skins of animals to cover themselves with, but "at Zuiva

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Guatemala NW3

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174 finally the Toltecs, who represented the sedentary class, were either exterminated or expelled; only a few scattered settlements remaining on Mexican territory.[8] Their successors on the soil were tribes of utter savages hailing from the north also, and to whom the vague and indefinite appellation of Chichimecas is given. (If the word is Mexican, it might derive from "Chichiltic" red,

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114 Tulan they forthwith acquired wisdom." This is a striking analogy indeed with the
174 Mexican traditions above reported about the first times of the Toltecs. Settling at Izmachi, they occupied four quarters "they already covered four hills who together bore the names of their tribe" (Mr. Brasseur translates "tinamit" sometimes by tribe and again by town. I prefer the former). At Izmachi they built houses of lime and stone (Cap. VII, p. 301). "But only three palaces were erected at Izmachi, the twenty-four palaces were not yet erected, but only three, one of those of Cavek, one single palace at the face of those of Nihaib, as likewise a single one, possession of those of Ahau Quiché." Recapitulating the festivals it is mentioned "For this reason the three branches assembled in the palaces named after them, where they drank their beverages, and ate their meals, price of their sisters and daughters, and with their hearts full of joy, they but ate and drank out of their painted cups within their palaces" (p. 305). This is a plain indication of communal meals, and of communal living. Finally it is related that at these places "they came to put names, there they took their titles, divided into families, organized into seven "chinamit" (kins not tribes), and classed themselves by quarters." Moving to Gumarcaah or Utlatlan, there they subdivided into twenty-four "great houses"—"the title of all their honors being distributed to each of the princes, *there* formed nine families with the nine princes of Cavek, nine with the princes of Nihaib, four with the princes of Ahau-Quiché, and two with the Lords of Zakik" (p. 308, cap. VIII).

It is easy to detect the following points:

(1). The QQuiché were originally organized in three consanguine groups, to which latterly a fourth was added.

(2). These kinships localized as four quarters, their mode of life was communal.

(3). They subsequently divided into twenty-four kindred groups, constituting so many gentes.

(4). The government of the tribe lay in the hands of the chiefs of these gentes.

This government, as the last chapter of the Popol-Vuh plainly states, was composed of twenty-four chiefs. Of these, three, one from each of three of the "quarters," had the title "Xim-Chocoh" or "great elected one." "There were consequently three Xim-Chocoh (great elected), acting as the fathers of all the chiefs of Quiché, they met together, commanded together, as the fathers and mothers of speech, and their condition is of the most exalted one." They commanded the forces of the tribe.

We have here consequently the organization of the QQuiché as a military democracy, based upon consanguine groups, with three *elective* war-chiefs at its head. The analogy of this organization with that of the Iroquois is really striking. It utterly discards all notions of feudality.

If now, as most of the older sources admit, the QQuiché really belonged to Toltec stock, we believe that the foregoing certainly sustains our views of the condition of these tribes, and justifies our statement that the Toltecs had "nowhere advanced to the condition of a nation or state" and that their institutions were democratic, their manner of living communal; monarchy and feudality being unknown to them.

[8] Compare the legend of Quetzalcohuatl, as related by Sahagun (Lib. III, cap. III to XIV, Vol. I); by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. VII), and contained also in the Popol-Vuh, where he is, of course, called Gukumatz (Part III, cap. VIII). See further Veytia (Cap. XXII, to the close of Vol. I).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

and "mecayotl"—consanguine relationship, thus: "the kin of red men.")[9] Enough is told us of the condition of these people to establish; that they were roving nomades for whom the soil had no other importance than for temporary occupancy as hunters,—that even the maize plant was unknown to them, and that they re-

[9] The etymology of the word "Chichimecatl" which we have ventured to propose, is not sustained, to our knowledge, by any author. We give it for what it may be worth. Much has been said about its probable derivation. Durán ("Historia de las Yndias de Nueva-España é Islas de Tierra-firme," cap. II, p. 13), says: "Chichimeca, que quiere decir caçadores á gente que viven de aquel oficio agreste y campestna . . . . " thus showing that the word is Nahuatl, and its explanation to be sought for in Nahuatl terms. Ixtlilxochitl ("Relaciones historicas," 2nd part, "Historia de los Señores Chichimecas" —"Relacion primera,") says: "the Toltecs, Acolhuas, Mexicans, and all the other nations of this land pretend to be derived from the Chichimecan race, thus called after its king Chichimecatl who brought it to the New World" (p. 335 and 336). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XV, p. 39), affirms: "These people took the name of Chichimecas, because Chichimecatl signifies one who sucks; for Chichiliztli is the act of sucking . . . .; and since these people in the origin ate the raw flesh of beasts and drank their blood, sucking it, they called themselves Chichimecas or suckers." Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 453), "they were a very barbarous people, living solely from the chase, and therefore they called them Chichimecas." Betancourt even derives the word from "chichini"—bones of a dog. It is again Veytia who, with his clear and positive judgment has gone further than any of his predecessors. He has been the first (we think) to discover the term "mecatl" which signifies a cord (Cap. XII, p. 143), in the last two syllables of the word. It naturally led him to the allied term "mecayotl" which designated a consanguine relationship, and finally to the etymology of "kinship of Chichen" assuming Chichen to have been the name of their first chieftain. There is hardly any proof of the latter however, and still less that "Chichimecatl" was his personal name. On the other hand, all the authors agree in stating, that the locality inhabited originally by the Chichimecas was called "Huehuetlapallan"—the old red place—that one of the stations said to have been occupied by tribes on their migrations towards Mexico bears the name "Chichilticalli" or red house. Our suggestion is, therefore, not altogether improbable: that Chichimecatl may have derived from "chichiltic" a red object, and "mecayotl"—kin—therefore signifying "the kin of red men."

Señor Manuel Orozco y Berra, the distinguished author of the "Geografia de las Lenguas," makes it very likely that the Chichimecas which invaded Mexico after the dispersion of the Toltecs, or inhabited it jointly with them, spoke a different language (Part I, cap. I, p. 8), which has since disappeared. His opinion is sustained by that of another eminent Mexican scholar, Don Francisco Pimentel ("Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de la lenguas indígenas de Mexico," Vol. I, p. 155). Nevertheless, the unity of origin of the Chichimecas, Toltecs and other tribes of "Nahuatl" stock, Mexicans of course included, is admitted, not only by Ixtlilxochitl, but already by Sahagun (Lib. X. cap. XXIX, p. 147), who resumes as follows: "All these families call themselves Chichimecas, and even pride and glorify themselves of such a name, and it is because like Chichimecas they went wandering over those lands aforesaid, and thence turned towards these parts, although really such lands were not called lands of Chichimecas, but Tlaotlalpan, Tlacochcalco, Mictlanpan, which means, wide and spacious plains, lying towards the north." Veytia, who almost incorporates the statements of all his predecessors, confirms it as follows: (Cap. II, p. 34). "Of this empire (of the Chichimecas) Huehuetlapallan was the famous court, and from it sallied at various periods bands and squads to people remote countries, each one taking its own name, after the chief or father of family which governed it, and becoming in course of time distinct nations with different languages or dialects, so that according to the belief of these nations and from their history, all the inhabitants of this new world have sprung

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Prehistoric Mexico NU3

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● 174 sorted to caves and thickets for shelter and residence. Landed tenure of any kind we cannot expect to find among them, and still less the system of feudality.[10]

Ethnographically, central Mexico must have presented an appearance, at those times, similar to that of the State of New Mexico and the territory of Arizona at present, in respect to their aboriginal population. Savage tribes swayed and roamed over the greater part of the country, while in the valley of Mexico proper, and east of it, some few "pueblos" of village Indians remained, barely protecting their crops and themselves from the inroads of marauding tribes.[11]

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114 from these seven families, and this city of Huehuetlapallan has the glory of having been
174 the first settlement made in it since the flood, and of being the cradle of all its people, whose memory those of New Spain have preserved, calling it their ancient home."

(Compare, with this view of the peopling of Mexico, the beautiful exposé of Morgan, of the peopling of America from centres of subsistence as initial points of migration, in "Ancient Society" (Part II, cap. IV, p. 108). Mr. Morgan recognizes three such centres in N. America, the most prominent of which is the Valley of the Columbia.)

The title of "Chichimecatl," often extended to "Chichimecatl-tecuhtli," is found very frequently, not only among the Mexicans, but also the Tezcucans and Tlaxcallans. It was an appellation given in reward of personal merit in war.

[10] Ixtlilxochitl has depicted to us a feudal Chichimecan Empire, more complete and typical than the feudal institutions of England. But at the same time he describes the Chichimecas as mere *savages* ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. IV, p. 30). "He arrived in a place called Tenayucan Oztopolco, where there were many grottoes and caves, which formed the principal dwellings of that nation." Id. cap. IX. p. 65 and 66), Torquemada (Lib. I. cap. XV, p. 38 and 39), describes them a "people naked, without robes of cotton, of wool, or any other covering but the skins of beasts. Their appearance was wild, they were great warriors, whose weapons are bows and arrows." . . . . "This nation of Chichimecas was governed and ruled by valiant and valorous captains . . . . ." Ixtlilxochitl further states ("Hist. Chichimeca," cap. IX, p. 66): "Every family lived together, and such as had no caves which were their chief dwellings, built huts of straw. The game was divided among the family of the hunter but the hide belonged exclusively to him who had killed it." The soil, therefore, had no other value for them than as "hunting grounds." Nevertheless, both of the authors just quoted report a distribution of the land by their chiefs, in the shape of individual donations, and feodes at an early date. But Ixtlilxochitl (Cap. IX, p. 63 and 64) asserts that the culture of the soil, even the maize plant, was unknown to them until the twelfth century of our era. Torquemada is still more explicit (Lib. I, cap. XLII, p. 67): "Neither did the Chichimecas pay any attention to it (agriculture or horticulture) for the reason that the Lords and Kings had parks ("Bosques") of rabbits and deer, which supplied them with meat, and the common people and Macehuales went after it through the fiel is, thus sustaining themselves without any other kind of work, and without the toil of sowing or planting, to which they had not been accustomed." More than a century elapsed, according to the above sources, ere horticulture, and therefore sedentary living, began to appear among them. How could feudal tenure of the ground exist meanwhile? We need not refer here to other authors, neither to the descriptions furnished of the condition of the Chichimecas north of the Mexican valley, at the time of the conquest (Motolinia, Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 185). "Tuvidon Senôres en esta tierra, como ahora son y estan los Espanôles, porque se enseñorearon de la tierra, no de la manera que los Espafioles."

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174 [11] See "Zwoelf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nordamerikas," by Albert S. Gatschet

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

While thus the high Mexican tableland especially was in a condition but little different from that of a fertile waste, migrations were in progress from that same undefined "north," which gradually carried thither tribes, or at least *kindred groups detached* from tribes, of horticultural sedentary Indians.[12] These bodies moved slowly, and independently from each other, and they settled down at last in the beautiful valley, near the watersheets in its centre. There they occupied *independent territories which they held as their own;*[13] and while they, in all probability, did not always maintain friendly relations towards each other, it is still not improbable that, owing to the bond of common stock-language, they 174

Weimar, 1877 (a valuable contribution to Linguistics and Ethnography). Also "Lieut. G. M. Wheeler's Zweite Expedition nach Neu Mexiko und Colorado, 1876," by Oscar Loew (in Vol. 22 of Dr. Petermann's "Geographische Mittheilungen," p. 209). "The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico," by W. W. H. Davis, 1869. The sedentary Indians occupying the most-limited expanse, and being also inferior in numbers to the roving bands among and around them.

[12] These facts are generally acknowledged, as well as that they migrated from the North. In addition to the authors already named in the course of this and of our previous paper, we shall merely quote: Gregorio Garcia: "El Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo é Indias Occidentales" Madrid, 1729 (2nd Edition, Original appeared in print about 1606). "New Mexico whence came the seven lineages, which peopled New Spain" (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81), (Lib. X, cap. III, p. 321). "Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia," written by the Licentiate Don Matias de la Mota Padilla, in 1742, and published by the Geogr. and Stat. Soc'y of Mexico in 1870 (Cap. I. p. 21). They were the seven tribes of "Nahuatl" stock, the community of language alone being sufficient to demonstrate their common origin.

[13] All the older authors agree in stating that the different tribes settled independent of each other. See Motolinia ("Hist. de los Indios de Nueva España," in Col: de Docum: Vol. I. "Epistola proemial") Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 145). "Successivamente se volvieron los Nahoas, que son los Tepanecas, los Acolhoaques, los Chalcas los Vexotzincas, y los Tlaxcaltecas, cada familia por si, y vinieron à estas partes de México . . . . y asi venidos todos à estas partes y tomada la posesion de las tierras, y puestas las mohoneras entre cada familia." Durán ("Hist: de las Ydias" (Cap. II, p. 10). "He of Xuchimilca after having gone around the entire lagune, was pleased with the site which they now occupy, settled there and took what he needed, without damage to anybody nor any contradiction" (p. 11). The Chalcas settled near the Xuchimilcas "quietly and peaceably." The Tecpanecas did the same, also the Tezcucans and the remainder (pp. 12, 13, and 14). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. III, p. 456). "At the time these nations settled, the Chichimecas made no show of opposition, nor resistance, only they became estranged and like unto astonished retired into the rocky fastnesses." (It is not devoid of interest to connect herewith the proper assertions of Cortés about the utterances of Montezuma, "Carta Segunda," p. 25, in Vol. I of Vedia.) Gomara ("Conquista de Méjico," p. 432, etc., Vedia, Vol. I). Fray Geronimo Mendieta ("Hist. ecclesiastica Indiana," Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, etc.) Ixtlilxochitl and Torquemada however, have made the opinion current, that all these tribes settled upon Chichimecan *domain*, and were *assigned* to special territories by the original holder of the entire country. But we have already established the nature of Chichimecan occupation of the land, and from it we cannot infer that any *title was held*, neither that any could be *given to new comers*.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sometimes associated (or even perhaps *confederated*) against surrounding tribes.[14]

These settlers, who all spoke closely related dialects of the same language as their predecessors the Toltecs, namely: the "Nahuatl" or *good sound*, were: the *Aculhuans or Tezcucans*, the *Tecpanecas*, the *Xochimilcas*, and the *Chalcas*. The first settled on the Eastern shore of the central lagune, the second to the west of it, while the two last-named tribes clustered around the fresh-water basins of the southeast. In this manner the valley was eventually mastered again by sedentary Indians, who held at bay the surrounding savages;—also defending it from neighbors of their own stock who, occupying at the same time contiguous areas placed under different geographical conditions, while their organization and plan of life were similar, and the language but dialectically varied;—still, eventually, became their most inveterate enemies.[15]

Although quite a respectable literature has arisen on the subject of the organization, customs and manners of these "Nahuatl" tribes of the valley of Mexico, this literature is much richer in facts purporting to be *historical* than in satisfactory *details* on *that subject itself*. We can but discern among the confusions and contradictions (of older authors particularly)—that the different tribes were democratic societies, based upon consanguine groups as units. Chiefs, *elected by the people*, formed their governments, whose highest authorities were the *councils*. The Tezcucans and Tecpanecans seem to have had each *one*, the Chalcas *two*, *head war-chiefs*, elected for life. In regard to their mode of holding and distributing the soil the most varied statements are given, most of these, however, based upon the assumption of monarchial institutions, and even of a great feudal empire with Tezcuco as its capital. Both of

[14] The reports about a preponderance of certain tribes, such as the Tezcucans or the Tecpanecans, resolve themselves into a result of intertribal relations in the valley of Mexico. We need but consult the writings of Ixtlilxochitl for that purpose. (See "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XI, XII, XIV, and XVI). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. XXXVII, p. 62).

[15] For a history of the different tribes composing the specifically latest immigration of "Nahuatl" stock, we refer to all the older authors on Mexican topics. Those of their kindred who settled outside of the valley were especially the Tlaxcallans. The relations of the latter to the valley-tribes were always rather unfriendly. See Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. IX, p. 258, and 259. Cap. XI, p. 264, and 265). Durán (Cap. II, p. 13). But the continuous wars between Tlaxcallan and the tribes of the valley commenced when the latter began to extend their sway under the leadership of the Mexicans (Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichimèques" cap. XLI, p. 292). It is corroborated by the statements of the Tlaxcaltecas themselves to Cortés ("Carta Segunda," p. 18, Vedia, Vol. I).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

these assumptions are disproved by the facts, related even by such authors as have most contributed towards fixing them upon the public mind as recognized truths.[16] We need hardly say here,

[16] In regard to the Tecpanecas, Acosta says (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 477): "From this it may be inferred, that among them the King exercised no absolute command and rule, and that he was rather a consul, or Dux, than a king." He further compares the Tecpanecas with the "reges" of ancient Rome (See Morgan's "Ancient Society," Part II, cap. XI, p. 297). The council was supreme among the Tecpanecans. See Tezozomoc ("Crónica Mexicana," Lord Kingsborough, Vol. IX, cap. IV, p. 11; also cap. V, p. 12, cap. VI, p. 13, "a esto respondió el rey y senado Tecpaneca: Digéroule: mira atempanecati (que muy bien le conocian) bien conozco la humillacion y sugecion de los Mexicanos; ya es por demas, porque estan alborotados, y corajudos los Tecpanecas:") Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 64, and 65).

The Xuchimilcas were governed by two chiefs (Tezozomoc, cap. XVI, p. 25. Durán, cap. XII, p. 104. "Their chiefs, of which there were two, one of the chief-place ("cabecera" rather lineage) of Xuchimilco called Yacaxapotecutli, and the other from the milpa (this is to be interpreted as descendancy), which is called Pachimalcatltecutli, and together with them meeting many principals, said"): a joint meal after communal style is also attributed to them by Tezozomoc (Cap. XVI, p. 26).

The Chalcas also had two chiefs: (Durán, cap. XVI, p. 134, Montezuma Ilhuicamina said to Tlacaelel: "I wish, if thou agreest, to send messengers to Chalco to the chief of Chalco Quateotl and to his companion Toteocitecutli . . . ."—Tezozomoc, cap. XXII, p. 33. Cap. XXIV, p. 36. Confirmed by the action of Cortés after the voluntary surrender of Chalco, when he installed two chiefs. Bernal Diez: cap. CXXXIX, p. 154 and 155, Vedia, II).

With the Tezcucans or Aculhuas there appears always but one head-chief, but it is equally positive that the office, while remaining in a certain kin, was elective still. The fact is interesting and requires close proof. We adduce here, in a general way, Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX. "De la Manera que tuvieron en elegir los señores," p. 318, of 2d Vol.): Durán (Cap. LXIV, p. 496). "Montezuma sent his messengers to Tezcuco, and had all the chiefs of that city and kingdom called to learn from them whom they were inclined to elect . . . ." (p. 497), "the which came, electing for King to Quetzalacxoyatzin, Neçaualpilli's son . . . ." Tezozomoc (Cap. CI and CII). Ixtlilxochitl concurs ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. LXXXVI). Torquemada (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 357, 358 and 359), acknowledges that, while the choice was among the *sons* exclusively, there still was a *choice* left, but he contradicts the statements of Juan Bautista Pomar (who wrote about 1582) who says, that this choice extended to the entire *kin* of the deceased head chief. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 153). "Although the Indians of this New Spain inherited the chieftaincy in direct lines, they took great care in ascertaining which one of his sons had to succeed to him." He mentions the succession in the cases of Netzahualcoyotl and of Netzahualpilli, each of whom were respectively followed by what he calls an illegitimate offspring, but whose mother was a *Mexicana* woman. Veytia (Cap. XIV, p. 367). "The council hardly had been informed of the King's death, when it thought proper to elect a successor, after the manner of the Mexicans . . . ." Carlos María de Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," Mexico, 1826. Part III, cap. IV, pp. 218, 219 and 220). Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, p. 12). "The order of succession varied according to the provinces, the same custom, with slight differences, prevailing in Mexico, Tezcuco and Tacuba."

The assumption of a feudal empire at Tezcuco has already been discussed. It was an invention of chroniclers, who had a direct interest, or thought to have one, in advancing the claims of the Tezcucan tribe to an original supremacy. Tribal jealousy and rivalry, such a powerful ally of the Spaniards during the conquest, continued to subsist where the Spanish domination was fully established.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock,
●174 speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

174 While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquirans of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340-348).

[648] [18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical,—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[131] [19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[226] [20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Aztecs" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

this office may not have, at that time, been permanently established;[21]—only temporarily, for emergency's sake.[22] It is barely possible for us to follow the migrations of the Mexicans with any degree of certainty; we can but gather from the various and varied reports and traditions, that being horticultural Indians, fertile lands were sought for by them, and only when they reached the lake-basin did they begin to hope for realization of their desires.[23] —There was yet much unoccupied space around the lagunes, still the newcomers were hardly welcome to the other occupants, who harassed them so long, that at last they fled into the marsh or swamp which then covered the area subsequently converted into the western lagune of Mexico.[24] Thus they retired to ground *which was neither held nor claimed by any of the surrounding tribes*, and on the few solid patches protruding above the morass, they settled, glad to have escaped pursuit and found a resting place on

[21] We have adopted the number seven for these kinships, although the interpreter of the Mendoza Codex (Tab. I, of Vol. I, Lord Kingsborough) says there were ten. "El exercito Mexicano tubo por caudillos diez personas nombradas . . . ." (Vol. V, p. 40). Durán and Tezozomoc both say seven, so does Veytia. The two former authors even give the names of the idols which each of these seven clusters worshipped, carrying it along on their migrations. It is needless here to prove in detail the democratic nature of these seven "lineages." Veytia, for instance (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII), quotes Chimalpain as authority, and although he assigns to the Mexicans a leader ("caudillo") called Huitziton, he still implies that at Chapultepec only "they, emulating the other nations there located, resolved upon electing a King to govern them" (p. 109). Durán (Cap. III, p. 27). Clavigero mentions an "Aristocratic" organization of the Mexicans until the year 1352. "The entire nation was below a senate or conclave of the most respected persons, distinguished through nobility and knowledge. At the foundation of Mexico there were 20 of these" (Lib. III, cap. I). This is a new version. See also Gregorio Garcia ("Origen de los Indios" Lib. V, cap. III). If we eliminate the mythical Huitziton, we find *occasional* head war-chiefs. Veytia even assures us that after Mexico was founded, they elected "one to govern them, although not in the capacity of a King, but as a leader or captain" (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 156).

[22] The *regular* series of Mexican head war-chiefs ("tlaca-tecuhtli") commences about the middle of the 14th century. Previous to it, the office appears to have been filled by occasional braves, as emergency required. Compare Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XII and XIII, with cap. XV, p. 131, and cap. XVIII, p. 150, and cap. XXI, p. 186 and 187). Torquemada (Lib. I, cap. III, p. 83. Cap. IV, p. 84. Cap. XII, p. 95). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148), and Acosta (Lib. VII. cap. 8, p. 468 and 469), etc., etc.

[23] Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 186). Durán (Cap. III). Tezozomoc (Cap. I, II and III). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. 4, p. 459). Garcia ("Origen, etc." Lib. III. cap. III, § V, p. 99 and 100. "que los haria Principes, i Señores de todas los Provincias, que havian poblado las otras seis naciones, que antes en ellos havian salido.")

[24] "Art of War, etc.," p. 87 note 5. Idem, p. 150, and note 194, 195, and p. 151, notes 197 and 198.—L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII, p. 190 and 191). Among the older authors, Mendieta is very explicit (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, p. 148). "Y eso asiento les cuadró mucho por hallarlo abundante de cazas de aves y pescados y marisco con que se poder sustentar y aprovechar en sus granjerias entre los pueblos comarcanos, y por el reparo de las aguas con que no les pudiesen empecer sus vecinos."

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

[74] soil *which they might hold as their own.*[25] It would appear that, through loss of numbers in the course of their migrations, as well as through divisions among themselves, the original consanguine groups composing the body, had been reduced to *five.*[26] Now a further and last division took place, one of these kindred clusters seceding from the rest, and establishing itself apart on another sandy expanse where, close to the others however, it grew to become the tribe of Mexico-Tlatilulco.[27] It remained independent until about forty years before the conquest.[28]—The other *four* settled *each one by itself*, but still acknowledging a *common government*, in token of which the tribal place of worship was erected at the spot where these four areas met. Thus the "pueblo" of Mexico-Tenuchtitlan was founded; the seat and home of the Mexicans proper.[29]

[25] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. X, p. 72), says that the Mexicans "asked the King of Azcaputzalco for soil" (to settle upon). Torquemada represents their settlement as a flight to a safe place (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 92). Also Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, pp. 147 and 148). Durán (Cap. V, p. 41), has the remarkable passage following: "que aun el suelo no era suyo, pues era sitio y término de los de Azcaputzalco y de los de Tezcuco; porque allí llegaban los términos del uno y del otro pueblo, y por la otra parte del Mediodía, términos de Culhuacan:" (This shows they were on neutral ground, dividing the tribes of their surroundings.) Tezozomoc confirms (Cap. III, p. 9), "estando en terminos de los de Atzcapuzalco, Acuihuaques Tezcucanos y los de Culhuacan." Durán (2ª p. 41) further says that they contended to be masters of their soil, without owing allegiance or obedience to any one. See also Tezozomoc (Cap. III) and Motolinia ("Epistola proemial," p. 5). Gomara ("Conquista," p. 431. Vedia, 1st volume).

[619] [642] [26] We have already alluded to the number of chiefs leading the Mexicans at the time of their settlement in the lagune. It varies from four to twenty. But the fact that four "quarters" composed it originally, leads me to the belief that four Mexican kinships remained, one seceding as the tribe of Tlatilulco. This division into four is the only fact reliably ascertained. (See notes 27, 29, 30 and 31).

[27] This fact is too amply proven to need special references. How it occurred we cannot ascertain, since it is related in the most varied manner by the different sources of authority. If the statement is correct that even during their migrations, the Mexicans proper and the Tlatilulcás kept apart, as tribal components, or probably "phratries,"—then the fact of their localizing as tribes independent from each other is easily accounted for. See Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

[28] The date of its conquest by the Mexicans is about 1473 ("Art of War, etc." p. 102). It can easily be verified from the date on the so-called "calendar stone" at the city of Mexico. (See "Calendario Azteca" by Señor Chavero.)

[615] [618] [29] The question remains yet undecided as to whether these four "quarters" ("barrios") were four original kinships, or whether they were already four "brotherhoods of kinships" (phratries), analogous to the Roman curiæ formed by (or rather remaining as the last vestige of) original kinships disaggregated. The latter might appear likely from the fact of the greater number of chiefs (than four), mentioned by the old authors. The existence of still lesser groups is plainly acknowledged at the same time. Durán says (Cap. V, p. 42): "On the night after the Mexicans finished the place of worship ("hermita donde su dios estaba"), a large area of the lagune being filled up and room made for the houses, Vitzilopochtli spoke to his priest or keeper and said to him:

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51–65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpulli," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 442. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 494." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74).

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de cañas," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 21). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamitl" has been adopted by the Qquiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 301, 304, 306, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 490-493.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

intervening ditch, and throwing it on the chinampa, by which means the ground is raised generally about a yard, and thus forms a small fertile garden, covered with the finest culinary vegetables, fruits and flowers . . . . . ."[37]

Each consanguine relationship thus gradually surrounded the surface on which it dwelt with a number of garden plots sufficient to the wants of its members.[38] The aggregate area thereof, including the abodes, formed the "*calpullalli*"—soil of the "calpulli,"[39] *and was held by it as a unit;* the *single tracts*, however, being tilled and used for the benefit of the *single families*.[40] The mode of tenure of land among the Mexicans at that period was therefore very simple. The tribe claimed its *territory*, "ALTEPETLALLI," an undefined expanse over which it *might extend*, —the "calpules," however, *held* and *possessed within that territory* such portions of it as were *productive;* each "calpulli" being *sovereign* within its limits, and assigning to its individual members *for their use* the minor tracts into which the soil was parcelled in consequence of their mode of cultivation. If, therefore, the terms "altepetlalli" and "calpulalli" are occasionally regarded as *identical*, it is because the former indicates the *occupancy*, the latter *the distribution* of the soil.[41] We thus recognize in the calpulli, or kindred group, the unit of tenure of whatever soil the Mexicans deemed worthy of definite possession. Further on we

[37] "Six Months Residence and Travels in Mexico," by W. Bullock. London, 1824. Cap. XIII, p. 179. It is not devoid of interest to compare the descriptions of this rather superficial, though still truthful observer, with the account of the ancient Chinampas as preserved to us in Tezozomoc (cap. III, p. 9). Durán (cap. VI, pp. 50 and 51). The floats or rafts mentioned by these old authors were nothing else but the chinampas or "floating gardens." Therefore also Tezozomoc uses the term "camellon," or garden-bed. (See also Acosta, Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 472.) Torquemada (Lib. XIII, cap. XXXII, p. 483). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 142).

[38] Durán (Cap. V). Tezozomoc (Cap. III, p. 8). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. IX, p. 473). Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXXIII, p. 291. Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 101). Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XVII).

[39] Alonzo de Zurita (p. 51). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242). Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los ultimos Tiempos de sus antiguos Reyes," p. 232).

[40] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 52, 56, 57, 60).—De l'Ordre de Succession observé par les Indiens, etc., etc. (copy of an anonymous MSS. from Simancas, contained in the Uguina collection, and translated by Mr. Ternaux-Compans in his "Recueil de pièces, etc., pp. 223 and 234.)

[41] Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 51–64). Herrera (Dec. III, Lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). Ramirez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo (Letter of 3 Nov., 1532, Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V. "Recueil" of Ternaux, p. 253). See also the Introduction to the "Real Ejecutoria de S. M. sobre Tierras y Reservas de Pechos y Paga. Perteneciente á los Caciques de Axapusco," in "Col. de Doc." of Icazbalceta (Vol. II, p. XIII).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 98 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 296). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 58-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 434. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

15: Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
374 and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618 [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 215. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 58). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

however, was not changed, and no hereditary rights of property were called into existence in favor of the chiefs or their descendants.[39]

For nearly a century after the first settlement of the Mexicans

[39] No mention is made of any tax or tribute gathered for official purposes among the Mexicans until under the last Montezuma, when it is generally admitted, as Gomara says: "That all tributed to the chief of Mexico" ("Conq. de Méjico," p. 345, Vedia, I). Without accepting the views expressed by Robertson ("History of America." Book VII, p. 291. Vol. III. 9th Edition, 1800), who ascribes to the influence of Montezuma a change in the plan of government of the Mexican tribe,—it still appears but natural that as long as the tribe was weak in numbers and resources, the original or typical form of communal Institutions prevailed, whereas with increased population and consequent increase of governmental labor the members of the tribe were compelled to provide for the maintenance of their officers and their families. The first step was to cultivate such patches of land for them as they held being members of some calpulli. These lands were the "pillali," commonly treated of as "patrimonial estates." Torquemada, however, says (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 546): "Another kind of lands they called pillali, or, so to say: Lands of Knights ("hidalgos") or nobles. Of these there were two kinds. In the first case the land was inherited with the nobility, and in the other, the chief gave lands to such as had achieved distinction and valor in war, and were ennobled therefor. To these the chief gave lands for their sustenance, but they could not hold renters ("terrazgueros") but might sell to other chiefs, as if the conditional gift from the chief had not existed: and neither of these two classes could dispose of their tracts to any macehual (common man—perhaps from "maitl"—hand, and "ceualli"—shade,—the hand of some one who gives protection or shade), for in that case they lost them, and the chief entered in their possession. *and they were applied to the calpulli in whose area they were located, in order that the said cluster might pay tribute according to the quantity of land contained;*—also, if any one of them died without heirs, the chief inherited" Herrera (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XVII, p. 138). "These were lands which went with the Lordship, and which they called lands of the Lordship, and of these the Lords could not dispose, but rented them as they might and the *rents were used in the house of the King, because there, besides all the principals, also ate the travellers, and the paupers*, for which service the Kings were much honored and obeyed. What these rents did not furnish, was supplied by their patrimonial estates." Veytia (Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 195). "For the present we shall but say, that in each pueblo and place there was a tract of land of best quality, which was of the Kings or Lord of the estate . . . . . For the sowing and working of these lands the calpixque, an officer of the republic (state) in each pueblo, daily designated the common people who had to work them, and all the fruit belong integrally to the chief *for the maintenance of his house.*" Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim. cap. XXXV, pp. 242, 243 and 244). Bustamante ("Texcoco en los Ultimos Tiempos, etc." Part III, cap. V, p. 234, etc.). Oviedo ("Hist. gen. y nat." lib. XXXIII, cap. LI, p. 536, of 3d vol.) Now we have already established, that individual tenure of the soil was unknown, it is further proved that the offices were non-hereditary, we cannot fail, therefore, to recognize. 1°. In the "pillali" of Torquemada the original "chinampa" held by chiefs as members of a kinship.

2°. In the tracts of Herrera and Veytia "official lands," specially reserved for the wants of official houses and their occupants. These lands went "with the office."

No date can be assigned to the introduction of this new feature among the Mexicans but we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Tezcucan chroniclers make special mention of it, connecting it with the time when Nezahualcoyotl became chief of Tezcoco (See Ixtlilxochitl "Hist. des Chichim." cap. XXXV. Veytia, Lib. III, cap. VI, p. 196. Bustamante, Part III, cap. V). The connection is *implied* rather than *expressed*, and but *excuses* the suggestion: that such a change might have occurred about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Of course we allude here to the Mexicans alone, and not to the tribes of the mainland.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Durán (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtlilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII, XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I, pp. 15 and 18).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 63). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 476. "Con esta ocasion, ora sea que ellos de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los auia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por auerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes. por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera." p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 256 and 257). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los últ: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

618 While the seven consanguine clusters above mentioned com-
174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
619 Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Véronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcaltitlan.
Santa Cruz de Tecpancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocalititlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlaxilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capoltitlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Hueipantonco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azococolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Cihuatecpan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitznahuac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzonco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Copolco.	Santa Clara Acozac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[34] *Fernan Gonzalez de Eslava* ("*Coloquio espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50. to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma. Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedó el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[35] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assumption, frequently made, that the Mexicans were divided into two distinct clusters at the outset.

A council of chiefs, representing the seven kins meeting on equal terms, composed the government of the ancient Mexicans at that period of their history. Among these, occasional "old men" of particular ability loom up as leading advisers. But no permanent general office of an executive nature is mentioned; although even occasional braves acquired historical prominence through their deeds of valor and of sagacity.[36]

But, while the organization was thus amply sufficient for the needs of a straggling band, Indian worship or "medicine" (as the native term implies) represented, inside of that organization, the lingering remains of what we have already suggested to be the oldest aboriginal clusters of society. Corresponding to the *four* original kins of the QQuiché, to the *four* leading days of the calendar with the traditions attached to their origin, we find among the ancient Mexicans at that period *four* chief medicine men, or "old men," who at the same time are "carriers of the God."[37]

[36] "*Tenure of Lands*" (P. 398 and 399, Notes 21 and 22). In addition to the authorities quoted there, I refer to: *Gomara* ("*Conquista de Méjico*" Vedia I, p. 431). "y dicen que no trajeron señores, sino capitanes." Idem p. 433. "De los reyes de Méjico"). *Motolinia* ("Epistola proémial," p. 5). "aunque se sabe que estos Mexicanos fueron los postreros, y que no tuvieron señores principales, mas de que se gobernaron por capitanes." —*Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148). "Dicen que el ejército mexicano trajo por caudillos ó capitanes diez principales que los regian, ... Entre estos eligieron, luego como hicieron su asiento, por rey y principal señor á Tenuch." *Torquemada*. (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78; cap. XII, pp. 94 and 95).

The fact of the election of the *first* so-called "King" of the ancient Mexicans, so generally acknowledged that no evidence of it is needed, is proof enough that, previous to it, the government of the Mexicans was at least, not monarchical. The words of Torquemada, (p. 94, vol. I.) "Dicese, que aviendo pasado veinte y siete años, que se governaban en comun, los unos, y los otros, les tomó gana de eligir Rey, ..." are plain enough.

Aside from the "leaders" (caudillos) of the Kins frequently mentioned, occasional war-chiefs or directing braves turn up during this period of their wandering existence. Thus, a chief whom they called "Mexi" is mentioned by *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 490), *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 138 and 139), *Herera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. X, p. 60); and another very famous warrior, "Humming Bird." (Huitzilihuitl) led the Mexicans during their fray with the valley-tribes at Chapultepec, losing his life in the sally by which they broke through their surrounding enemies. *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 27; IV, 30). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. V, p. 483). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. III, p. 82; IV, p. 84; Lib III, cap. XXII, p. 289). *Velascurt* (Parte IIa, Trat. Io, cap. IX, p. 261; cap. X, p. 265 and 266). *Granados y Galvez* (*Tarde Quinta*, p. 131). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 97; cap. XIII, p. 110; cap. XIV, p. 116, 124; cap. XV. p. 130 and 131). He affirms that "Humming Bird" was the first "King of the Mexicans," which, however, is expressly disproved by other authors.

[37] *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*" cap. I, p. 6), mentions the four old men who carried the so-called sister of Huitzilopochtli, "y á esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli á los viejos

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 618 624 It seems to indicate, that as relics of four very ancient kins, a kind of superstitious ("standing over") deference was paid to them, implying a voice and vote in the councils of the tribe.[38]

que la solian traer cargada, (que se llamavan Quauhtlonquetzque, y Axoloa el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui Cuauhcoatl, y el cuarto Ococaltzin"). (Cap. III. p. 8), at Chapultepec "y alli les habló Huitzilopochtli á los sacerdotes, que son nombrados Teomamaques, cargadores del dios, que eran Cuauhtloquetzqui, Axoloa, Tlamacazqui y Acocaltzin, á estos cargadores de este idolo, llamados sacerdotes, les dijo."—*Durán* (Cap. III. p. 21). Llegados a aquel lugar de *Pazcuaro*, viéndole tan apacible y alegre, consultaron á su dios los sacerdotes y pidiéronle: . . . . . el dios *Vitzilopochtli* respondió á sus sacerdotes, en sueños . . . " These words repeat themselves almost, several times in cap. IV. V, and VI. Finally he is very positive, (Cap. VI. p. 46), "con los quatro ayos de *Vitzilopochtli*. los quales le vian visiblemente y lo hablaban, que se llamanan *Cuauhtloquetzqui*, el segundo *Ococatl* el tercero *Chachalatil* y el cuarto *Axoloua*, los quales eran como ayos, padres, amparo y reparo de aquella gente," *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. IV. p. 459), "Con esto salieron llevando á su ydolo metido en una arca de juncos, la qual llevavan quatro Sacerdotes principales, con quien el se communicava, y dezia en secreto los successos de su camino auisandoles lo que les auia de suceder, dandoles leyes, y enseñandoles ritos y ceremonias, y sacrificios. No se mouian un punto sin parecer y mandato deste ydolo." *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. II, cap. X, p. 60). "Llevaron este Idolo en una Arca de Juncia en hombros de quatro Sacerdotes, los quales enseñaban los Ritos, i Sacrificios. i daban Leies, i sin su parecer no se movian en nada." Besides these specifically and exclusively Mexican sources, to which others will be added hereafter, the fact of these four chief-medicine men "tlamacazqui" from "tlama"—medicine-man, (*Molina* II, p. 125), is proven by authors who rather incline to the texcucan side. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78), "y ordenó, que quatro de ellos, fuesen sus ministros, para lo qual, fuéron nombrados Quauhcohuatl, Apanecatl, Tezcacohuatl, Chimalman," (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 41, but especially Lib. IX. cap. XIX, p. 205). "De los primeros Mexicanos, que vinieron á estas Tierras, sabemos, que no traxeron Rei, ni otro Caudillo particular (contra los que tienen, ó afirman lo contrario) sino que venian regidos de los Sacerdotes, y ministros del Demonio; sobre cuios hombros venía la Imagen del Dios Huitzilupuchtli, y á los consejos, y determinaciones de estos ministros eran obedecientes." The most explicit of all, however, is again *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 93). At the death of Huitziton, "y aqui fué donde empezaron las embustes de los viejos y sacerdotes que con mas inmediacion trataban á Huitziton; porque, ó concebido ya el ambicioso deseo de quedarse con el mando del pueblo, ó para disminiurle á este el dolor que debia causarle tan gran pérdida, ..." (p. 94). "Esto es el origen de la famosa deidad Huitzilopuchtli," (p. 99), here Veytia is in error in stating that *Tezozomoc* reports that the four priests were left with Malinalxochitl in Malinalco. This author mentions them again at Chapultepec, "*Crónica*," (Cap. III, p. 8). Further on (Cap. XIII, p. 103), "Yo me persuado á que es distinto, que Ocelopan y sus tres compañeros fueron los cuatro Tlamacazquis que fingieron el embuste del rapto de Huitziton," (p. 109), he says that the "old priests" opposed the election of a head-war-chief ("rey") "por no dejar el mando." (Also Cap XV, p. 131.)

It results from these statements, that the four "Carriers of the God" indeed exercised. or at least claimed some governmental power. In tribal society such power can only come through some *kin*, hence the four "medicine-men" represented four very old clans or relationships, whose names even may have been lost, whereas the former power "stood over," in the form of a participation of "medicine" or worship in the tribal business. I here recall the important utterance of *Boturini* ("*Idea*," pp. 111 and 112 of §XVI), "como fué costumbre de los Indios poner muy pocas Figuras en los mapas, baxo de cuya sombra se hallan numerosos Pueblos, y gentes; y assi dichos siete Tultécos, cuyos nombres refiere el mencionada Don Fernando, se entiende haver sido siete principales Cabezas de dilatados Parentescos, que se escondian baxo los

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

When the Mexicans, thus constituting a migratory cluster of kins, reached the present central valley of Mexico, they found it occupied by a number of tribes of the same language as their own, though dialectically varied. The arrival of the new-comers was to those who had already settled, a matter of either war or of adoption. Adoption became very difficult, as well on account of the number of the immigrants as of the rivalry between already settled tribes. Therefore the Mexicans were tossed to and fro, until at last the straggling remnant found a shelter on some dry patches protruding from the marsh along which the other tribes had formed their settlements. 174

This settlement occurred about 196 years previous to the Spanish conquest, and it limits therefore the time, within which the

nombres de sus Conductores." What the unfortunate Italian Cavaliere here says of the Toltecs, is applicable to all the other branches of the Nahuatl stock, and bears also on the four "Carriers of the God," under discussion.

Veytia affirms (Cap. XIII, p. 110, lib. II), that after the election of the Huitzilihuitl mentioned in my note 86, the god Huitzilopochtli "did not dare to claim the government of the people." Is this an indication to the effect that the four "priests" exercised a military command?

Referring to note 29, concerning the four names of the years and leading days in the Mexican and Central American Calendars, and their probable connection with as many very ancient kinships, I beg leave to add here some additional data in regard to the singular part played by the number four, in Central American and Mexican mythology and earliest tradition. In note 27, I have already alluded to the four original pairs, as mentioned by the "*Popol-Vuh*" as well as by *Sahagun*. Previous to the creation of the four men, the "*Popol-Vuh*" has the following remarkable passage: (Part III, cap. I, pp. 195–197), "In Paxil and in Cayalá, as this place is called, there came the ears of yellow and of white corn. These are the names of the barbarians (? Chicop), who went after subsistence: the fox (Yac), the wolf (Utiú), the parrot (Qel), and the raven (Hoh), four barbarians (?) who brought them the news of the ears of yellow corn and of white corn which grew in Paxil, and who showed them the road to Paxil." "There they found at last the nourishment which went into the flesh of man made, of man formed, this was his blood, it became the blood of man, this corn which went into him by the care of him who engenders and of him who gives being." This QQuiché tale of *four* animals or "barbarians" (the latter is an interpretation of Mr. Brasseur, since "chicop" signifies simply a *beast*) carrying the material out of which man was made, also finds an equivalent in Mexican traditions, as reported by *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, § 12, p. 146), of four wise men who remained in the earthly paradise of "Tamoanchan" inventing there "judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams. They composed the account of the days, of the nights, of the hours, and the differences of time, which were kept while the chiefs of the Toltecs, of the Mexicans, and of the Chichimecs ruled and governed." "Tamoanchan" as paradise, is strictly equivalent to "Paxil in Cayalá" of the QQuiché. The tradition of the four "Tutul-Xiu" among the maya of Yucatan, may also be classed among these tales. "*Series of Katunes.*" "*Epochs of Maya History.*" "*This is the Series of Katunes in Maya.*" ("*Helo lai u Tzolan Katunil Ti Mayab*") in Mr. *Brasseur's* ("*Relation des choses du Yucatan*") also in *J. L. Stephens* ("*Travels in Yucatan*," Vol. II, p. 465, appendix.) Also *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, pp. 222, 224).

[801 173]

[174] *Tylor* ("*Early History of Mankind*," Edition of 1878, p. 165), "Super-stitio" or "Standing Over,"—the German "Aberglaube" in the sense of "what has remained."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 organization and Institutions of the ancient Mexicans must have reached their ultimate development, to less than two centuries.[39]

"In the midst of canes of reeds" the remains of the Mexican tribe found their future home upon a limited expanse of sod, which even their enemies on the mainland seemed to regard but as a spot fit to die upon.[40] Although much reduced in numbers, the kins themselves remained and a settlement necessitated at once their localization. How this took place, can best be told in the words of one of the native chroniclers, the Dominican monk, Fray Diego Durán.

174 618 615 "During the night following, after the Mexicans had finished to improve the abode of their god, and the greatest part of the lagune being filled up and fit for to build thereon, Vitzilopochtli spoke unto his priest or keeper and said to him: "Say unto the Mexican community that the chiefs, each with their relatives, friends and connections, should divide themselves in four principal quarters, with the house which you have built for my resting place in the middle, and that each kin might build within its quarter as best it liked." These quarters are those remaining in Mexico to this day, to wit: the ward of San Pablo, that of San Juan, of Santa María la Redonda as it is called, and the ward of San Sebastian. After the Mexicans had divided into these four places their god sent word to them that they should distribute among themselves their gods, and that each quarter should name and designate particular quarters where these gods should be worshipped. Thus each of these quarters divided into many small ones according to the number of idols called by them Calpulteona, which is to say god of the quarter. I shall not recall here their names because they are not of importance to history, but we shall know that these quarters are like unto what in Spain they call a collation of such and such a saint."[41]

This statement we do not hesitate to accept as expressing gen-

[39] My friend, Prof. Ph. Valentini, of New York, has in hand the study of Central American Chronology proper, as well as Mexican. In his latest work "*The Mexican Calendar stone*" (published first in German as a "Lecture," and afterwards in No. 71, of the "*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*"), he has given a general idea of his researches, but not any details yet about their results. If, therefore, I here admit 1325, A. D. as about the date of the so-called "foundation" of Tenuchtitlan-Mexico, it is subject to correction by him.

[40] *Durán* (Cap. IV, p. 32), *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61).

[41] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 400, note 29, and p. 402, notes 33 and 33). In addition to the authorities quoted, I refer to *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XI, p. 61), and *Samuel Purchas* ("*His Pilgrimages*," 1625, Part III, lib. V, cap. IV, p. 1005).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

nine aboriginal traditions, notwithstanding the attempt, on the part of Fray Juan de Torquemada, to impugn its truthfulness and consequently its validity,[42] It results from it that while the kins, which for the first time in Mexican history are distinctly identified here with the "calpulli," are settling, "as best they liked;" the creation of four geographical divisions, composed each of a number of kins, is attributed here to the influence of worship or, as we have already termed it, of "medicine." This connects those, who subsequently became the four "Indian wards" of Mexico, with the four "carriers of the gods" already mentioned, and this perhaps may be considered a reminiscence of the four original relationships. Of these the sections mentioned appear like a shell, geographically enclosing a number of settled kins. The supposition is not, therefore, devoid of interest that they may have represented brotherhoods of kins, for purposes of worship and warfare. If now we substitute for *kin* the term "*gens*" adopted by Mr. Morgan, those *brotherhoods* necessarily appear in the light of as many "*phratries*."[43]

The time of this occurrence seems almost to coincide with a division (already indicated as in progress) of the original Mexican band into *two* sections. It now culminated in the secession of a part of the tribe and its settlement apart from the main body, though not far away from it and within the lagune also. While the "place of the stone and prickly pear" (Tenuchtitlan) remained, virtually, ancient Mexico, the seceding group founded the Pueblo of Tlatilulco as an independent community at the very door of the former. It appears as its rival even until forty-eight years previous to the Spanish conquest.[44]

[42] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 402, notes 33 and 35).

[43] *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, cap. III, p. 88) "The phratry is a brotherhood, as the term imports, and a natural growth from the organization into gentes. It is an organic union or association of two or more gentes of the same tribe, for certain common objects. These gentes were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original gens." If we recall the manner in which the four "quarters" or Mexico first appeared, it will easily be seen that the analogy with phratries is indeed striking. Compare, "*Art of War*" (p. 101, and note 22, and pp. 120, 121, and notes 97, 99, 100, and 101). In "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 400 and (401), I have rather favored the view that these four were "calpulli" which subsequently segregated into minor quarters or 'barrios." I now correct this, having become convinced that the so-called minor *quarters already existed at the time of settlement* (*compare notes* 37 *and* 41).

[44] *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, p. 180), mentions a division into but two "barrios' in course of time through increase of population. "Despues andando el tiempo y multiplicandose el pueblo y creciendo la vecindad, hizóse esta ciudad dos barrios ó dos ciudades," *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichim.*" Cap. p. 72), merely states they were

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 It is much to be regretted that our information on this point
114 is so meagre and unsatisfactory, as not to enable us to ascertain
619 whether several *entire kins* separated from the rest to form the new tribe, or whether *fragments of kins* only composed the secessionists. In fact even the cause of the division is stated in such a varied and contradictory manner, that we must withhold any expression of positive views on the subject.

618 Without losing sight altogether of the tribe of Tlatilulco, we still must devote our attention chiefly to the inhabitants of Tenuchtitlan, in which we recognize the ancient Mexicans proper. The number of kins composing the latter at the time of their

divided in two "bands," without saying why and how this division occurred. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 43), "Hecha esta division y puestos ya en su órden y concierto de barrios, algunos de los viejos y ancianos, entendiendo merecian mas de lo que les daban y que no se les hacia aquella honra que merecian, se amotinaron y determinaron ir a buscar nuevo asiento, y andando por entre aquellos carriçales y espadañales allaron una albarrada pequeña, y dando noticia della á sus aliados y amigos fuéronse á hacer alli asiento, el qual lugar se llamaba Xaltelulli y el qual lugar agora llamamos Tlatilulco, ques el barrio de Santiago. Los viejos y principales que alli se pasauan fuéron quatro; el uno dellos se llamaba Atlaquauiti, el segundo Huicto, el tercero Opochtli, el quarto Atlacol. Estos quatro señores se dividieron y apartaron de los demas y se fuéron á vivir á este lugar del Tlatilulco, y segun opinion tenidos por hombres inquietos y revoltosos y de malas intenciones, porque desde el dia que alli se pasaron nunca tuvieroñ paz ni se llevaron bien con sus hermanos los mexicanos; la qual inquietud a ido de mano en mano hasta el dia de hoy, pues siempre a auido y ay bandos y rancor entre los unos y los otros." *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 468), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62), both are but concise repetitions of the above. *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, pp. 294 and 295), opposes both Acosta and Herrera, as well as the "*Codex Ramirez*," and substitutes a story about voluntary settlement of the Tlatilulca on a sandy patch near by, but apart from the others, in consequence of the old grudge or feud already mentioned. There is but little difference between this version and the preceding, the act of secession, in both, being voluntary. One singular fact is mentioned by *Vetancurt* (Part II, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 269), namely: that the Tlatilulca made a market-place for *both* parties. Otherwise (p. 257), he concurs with Torquemada. *Granados y Galvez* (Tarde 6a, p. 174), after saying that both "eran deudos y parientes unos con otros" adds "whether this division proceeded from past quarrels, or out of the incommodities which they suffered among canes and reeds; it is certain that they divided peaceably . . ." *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, pp. 135 and 142), reporting on all the various traditions about the foundation of Tlatilulco, comes to the conclusion that the "nobles" retired to Tlatilulco, whereas the "common people" remained at Mexico. *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 178), agrees with Veytia in regard to the real import of the fables told concerning the ancient feuds among the migratory band, but (Cap. XVII, pp. 187 and 188), he accepts the version that these old dissensions were the causes of the final division.

I have not been able, yet, to find whether the seceding Tlatilulca formed one kin, or one brotherhood of kins, or whether they were discontented fractions of kins removing. Had Vetancurt given us the names of the "barrios" of Tlatilulco, we might possibly infer something from them. As it is, the fact of the four "principals" mentioned by Durán, seems to indicate four kins, or rather (perhaps) fractions from four kins, whom want of space probably caused to remove. They may have been crowded out, and in course of time the feeling of jealousy and rivalry sprung up of which the authorities speak both freely and frequently. See *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

as yet; this peculiarly military office was not yet established in permanence. However, there are indications that one executive chieftain for tribal affairs may, at least rudimentarily, have existed namely: the "Snake-woman" (cihuacohuatl). But the attributes of this office did not assign to it any marked prominence.[46]

174 The position of the Mexican tribe, about the middle of the fourteenth century, was still a very precarious one. With barely sufficient sod to dwell upon, blockaded, so to say, by powerful tribes along the lake shore; with the independent cluster of Tlatilulco, jealous and threatening, within an arrow-shot of its homes, it was forced into a peculiar attitude of military defence. The elements for a warlike organization were contained in the autonomous kins, which were grouped into the still larger cluster of the brotherhood, and all together composing the tribe. The leaders were found in the officers and chiefs of the kins. But the state of insecurity then prevailing required an office whose incumbent should be in constant charge of the military affairs of the tribe. This was plainly within the scope of tribal society; such functions had already been exercised previously, in times of particular need. Now, under the pressure of circumstances, and with a permanent settlement, permanence of the charge became a necessity.[47]

[618 773] the seven chiefs "which seven went for leaders of each quarter" (p. 222). The wizards reply (among other things): "Great and powerful Lady (?) we have neither seen, nor spoken to, the chiefs of the *calpules*." Judging from this, the original number of them was *ten*, and it is presumable that if such was the case they were the *war-chiefs*, whereas the others were more properly the administrative officers analogous to the "*sachems*" of the Iroquois. (Compare *Morgan*, "*Ancient Society*." Part II, cap. II, pp. 71, 72, and 73. Cap. IV, p. 114. Cap. V, pp. 129, 130, etc., etc., to 148). We shall have occasion to return to this again in a subsequent note.

[46] The office of "Cihuacohuatl" is very old. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones*" "*Segunda Relacion*," pp. 223 and 284), after speaking of the seven leaders of the Tolteca, mentions "Ziuhcoatl" tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores" as discoverer of Jalisco. Confirmed (the last mention excepted) by *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XIV, p. 37). *Veytia* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 280). The "*Codex Mendoza*" (Plate II in Vol. I of Lord Kingsborough), represents the first regular head-war-chief of the Mexicans, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli) with a head and face of a woman and snake surmounting his own head or rather the forehead, whereas the "name" proper stands, as usual, behind the occiput. The expanatory note thereto (Vol. VI, p. 8), says: "The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuotl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans; when Mexico afterwards became a Monarchy this title was retained."

[47] *Durán* (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 44). *Acosta* (Lib. III, cap. 8, p. 468). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII, p. 62). *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 96). "The cause of his election was the increase in numbers, and their being surrounded by enemies who made war upon them and damaged them." "La causa de su eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian guerra, y afligian."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 139; cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53), says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Velancurt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1368. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 268-271), it would be about 1360, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 280), he says he was elected in 1384. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Siguenza*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 188), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 598. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1375. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 356), 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 108), 13, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 122, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under-"men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señoríos") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never could fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexican head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end." This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("lined") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 13-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en* 1540,"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II, cap. III, p. 164), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL. p. 681), mentions the "mandòn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de àl, es el que prègona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 837), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Semado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Exotic Expedition each New-Mexico and Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen*," Vol. 22, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

tion here, because of its unveiling, so to say, the full organization of the ancient Mexicans as they preserved it until the time of their downfall. 174 631

Upon the occasion of the division of spoils gathered from the defeated Tecpanecas, and of the establishment of regular tribute, there appear the following war captains and leaders of the Mexicans, as representatives of the latter's organization. 174 642

The "chief of men."

Four captains of the four principal quarters of Mexico.

Twenty war-chiefs of as many kins composing the tribe.

One chief representing the element of worship, or "medicine."

The "Snake-woman."[54]

gard to the date of its occurrence, *Bancroft* (Vol. V, p. 395), says about, or immediately after, 1431, following Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Clavigero* (Lib. IV, cap. III, p. 251), 1436, *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. Chichimeca*." Cap. XXXII, p. 217), also 1431, *Veytia* (Lib. III, cap. III, p. 165) 1431, The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Kingsb., Vol. I, p. 7, and Vol. VI, p. 136), has it 7, "Tochtli" or 1404.

[54] *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 96). Besides distributing land "juntamente con daros y repartiros las tierras que aveis ganado, para que tengais renta para el sustento de vuestros estados y personas segun el mérito dellas," he gave them "ditados" or titles "y (quiere) haceros señores de titulo" (the latter would be to make them noblemen). I must advert here that "ditado o titulo de honra" is expressed in the Mexican language by "tecuyotl" "tlatocaxotl" "maniçoti" (*Molina*, "*Vocabulario*," Part I, p. 46). These words however mean but, respectively "chieftainship," "speakership," and "honor," (the latter see *Molina* II, p. 84), all of them terms which, as we shall hereafter see, apply to *personal merit*, and not to hereditary privilege among the Mexican aborigines. Durán then proceeds (p. 97) to give these titles as follows:— 565 618

"Primeramente á su general dió por ditado				*Tlacochcalcatitecutli.*
A Vene Motenecçuma,			Tlacaelleltzin dió por ditado	*Tlacatecatl.*
A Tlacaelepan,	d.	p.	d.	*Ezuauacatl.*
A Cuatlecoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlillancalqui.*
A Veueçacan,	d.	p.	d.	*Tezcaconcatl.*
A Aztacoatl,	d.	p.	d.	*Tocuiltecatl.*
A Canaltzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Acolnauacatl.*
A Tzonpantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Hueitecutli.*
A Epcotinatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Temillotzin.*
A Citlalcoatzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Tecpanecatl.*
A Tlaneloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Calmimelolcatl.*
A Ixcuetlatoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Mexicaltecutli.*
A Cuauhtzitzimitl,	d.	p.	d.	*Huitznauatl.*
A Xiconoc,	d.	p.	d. y renombre,	*Tepanocatlitecutli.*
A Tlazolteotl,	d.	p.	d.	*Quetzalteatl.*
A Axicyotzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Teuctlamacazqui.*
A Izaualtiloc,	d.	p.	d.	*Tlepoltecatl.*
A Mecantzin,	d.	p.	d.	*Cuauhyauacatl.*
A Tenamastil,	d.	p.	d.	*Coatecatl.*
A Tzontemoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Pantecatl.*
A Tlacacochtoc,	d.	p.	d.	*Huecamecatl.*

To these he adds (pp. 98 and 99), five more, namely: *Quauhnochtecutli, Cuauhquiauacatl, Yopicatlitecutli, Cuitzuauatl, and Itcotecatl.* The three last were from Culhuacan. Adding to this the "chief of men" himself, who was "Flint-Snake," or

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 618 The existence of *twenty* autonomous consanguine groups is thus revealed, and we find them again at the time of the conquest,

565 618 "Obsidian-Snake" (*Itzcohuatl*), we have twenty-five chiefs in all. Now we cannot fail to notice:—

[701]

(1). "Itzcohuatl," the "chief of men" or head-war-chief.

(2). "Tlacochcalcatl," "Tlacatecatl," "Ezhuahuacatl," and "Cuauhnochtli," the four military leaders of the four great quarters ("phratries") of Tenuchtitlan. (See "*Art of War*," pp. 120, 121, and 122, also notes 97 to 101 inclusive.)

(3). "Tlillancalqui"—"Man of the black-house," a chief connected with "medicine" or worship, as I shall hereafter show. He was rather a counsellor or advisor, than a captain, as *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. XXV, p. 441), and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIX, p. 75) positively state, whereas *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) asserts the religious origin of his office.

(4). "Tlacaelel," who, as Durán and Tezozomoc both repeatedly and plainly assert, was the snake-woman or "Cihuacohuatl." In this instance, however, he is graced with the title of "man of the house of darts" ("Tlacochcalcatl"), and thus made one of the four leaders of the "phratries." This is an evident mistake, as the latter title belonged to Montezuma (the first, or "old one"). Compare *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVI, p. 140; cap. XLIII, p. 150, where he is called "captain-general"), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XV, p. 293), also *Durán* (Lam. 8a, Parte Ia).

(5). Twenty war-chiefs, each one of whom commanded the warriors of one kin or calpulli, hence they were the military leaders of twenty Mexican kins. Besides the indications to that effect furnished by *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, p. 224), "á los señorés de los *calpules* no los vimos ni nos hablaron," said the sorcerers which had been sent to Huitzilopochtli's mother, after she had asked them about the chiefs or captains, seven in number, which had led the Mexicans originally, (see note 33). *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," Cap. XV, pp. 24 and 25), while corroborating the statements of Durán (with the exception that he omits the chief "Mexicatltecutli," and thus gives only twenty-seven chieftains), inserts the following explanation about these twenty (or twenty-one after Durán) captains: "After these four (the four first ones), go the Tiacanes, called valorous soldiers, surnamed captains." The "Tiacan" or "tiacauh," properly "teachcauhtin," *Elder brother*, was the military chief of each "barrio" or "calpulli," therefore of each *kin* ("*Art of War*," p. 119, notes 91, 92, and 93), consequently these twenty chieftains represent here as many consanguine relationships composing the tribe of the ancient Mexicans.

It will be noticed, however, that Durán has twenty-one chiefs, whereas we assume but twenty, according to Tezozomoc. The latter omits "Mexicatl-tecutli" and, perhaps properly too. This word signifies but "Mexican chief," in general, and cannot therefore well be the title of one particular leader. It recurs occasionally in the course of Mexican history. Still, this is only a suggestion on my part, for the matter is far from being proven. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 371) mentions "*Mexicatl-achcauhtli*" among the chiefs who went with Quauhtemotzin before Cortés on the day after the resistance of the Mexicans had ended. Again Tezozomoc mentions two chiefs of the same title "Cuauhquiauacatl," as also does Durán. Now this would be impossible, since Tezozomoc calls the second one of that name, a son of "Cuauhnochtli." It may be now that the latter author has omitted the "Mexicatl-tecutli," and that "Cuauhquiauacatl" is to be counted but once. It results from the statements of Vetancurt already alluded to, that there were twenty Mexican "calpulli," consequently there were but twenty leaders of kins. The analogy between these "barrios" and the chiefs of Durán and Tezozomoc is greatly increased by the fact that for the three chiefs of Culhuacan mentioned by the latter, we have also three barrios of "Otomites," therefore, in each case but seventeen original kins of Mexicans proper (*Vetancurt* "*Crónica*," Vol. III, p. 122).

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

while their last vestiges were perpetuated until after 1690, when Fray Augustin de Vetancurt mentions four chief quarters with their original Indian names, comprising and subdivided into *twenty* "barrios." Now the Spanish word "Barrio" is equivalent to the Mexican term "calpulli." Both indicate the kin, localized and settled with the view to permanence.[55]

What is often conceived as the establishment of a vast feudal monarchy at the time just treated of, resolves itself therefore into two very plain features. One of these consists in the establishment of the confederacy, the other is but the appearance in broad daylight of the peculiar organization of aboriginal society among the Mexicans. Thus we have no sudden change of base, no revolution in the institutions of the tribe; the only progress achieved consisted in the extension of inter-tribal relations and in their assuming the shape of a military partnership.

The year 1473 witnessed another event which seemed to affect

All these titles were permanent, though not hereditary, as it is plainly seen in the case of the four leaders of the four "phratries" about which *Sahagun* says: (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 318) "The chief elected, forthwith they elected others four which were like senators that always had to be by his side . . . . (these four had different names in different places) . . . . " *Durán* (Cap. XI. p. 103). "To these four lords and titularies, after they were elected princes, they made them of the royal council, like presidents and members ("oydores") of the supreme council, without whose opinion nothing should be done. When the king died, his successor had to be taken from those, neither could any others but brothers or sons of kings be clothed with these dignities. Thus if one of these was elected, they put another in his place. We must know that they never put a son of him who had been elected ("King") or of the deceased, since, as it has been said, the sons never succeeded (in office) by inheritance, to the titles or lordships, but through election. Therefore, whether son, brother, or cousin, if elected by the king and those of his council, to that dignity, it was given to him,—it being sufficient his being of that lineage and near relative, and so the sons and brothers went on inheriting gradually, little by little . . . . and the title and lordship never went outside of that descendancy ("generation" also kin), being filled by election, little by little."

The other titles are frequently met with up to the time of the conquest, as a few instances will abundantly prove. Assuming, with the majority of authors, the date of 1431, for that of the formation of the confederacy, we meet, during the unlucky foray of the confederates against Michhuacan, about fifty years later, with the following war-chiefs of the Mexicans. Tezcacoatl, Huitznahuacatl, and Quetzaltocatl (*Tezozomoc*, Cap. LII, pp. 84 and 85), also Coatecatl (Cuauhtecatl). At the time of Cortés' first arrival off the coast (1518) we meet in the council of Mexico with Huitznahuacatl, Hueycamecatl (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. XIII, p. 379). Finally when, after the resistance of the Mexicans had ceased, Cortés assembled all the chiefs in his presence, we again meet with Huitznahuatl, Mexicatltecuhtli, Teuctlamacazqui (*Torquemada*, Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 571). Evidence of this kind could be produced in profusion, but it would only increase unnecessarily the size of this annotation. Compare the titles of the Iroquois sachemships in *Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. V, pp. 130 and 131).

[55] Compare note 33. Also *Molina* (Parte I, p. 18), and others.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 648 the Mexican tribe in a more direct manner. It was the overthrow and capture, after a short but bloody struggle, of the pueblo of Tlatilulco.[56] Owing to the close connection of the latter with the Mexicans both had remained on a non-hostile footing; for the suspicious watchfulness with which each viewed the other did not comport with any more intimate relations, those of trade and exchange excepted. When the confederacy came into existence, Tlatilulco was counted in as a part of Mexico, since its people acknowledged themselves to be Mexicans; but there is no evidence authorizing the conclusion that the Tlatilulca played any other role, beyond that of auxiliaries to their kindred of Tenuchtitlan.[57] The rash attempt of the former at the organization of a conspiracy to become "Mexico alone" terminated fatally; their place was taken and barbarously sacked, their leaders were killed in the fray or sacrificed afterwards, and the Mexicans, exasperated at the conduct of their treacherous kinsmen treated them in an unusually severe manner. We have seen already that, in any conquest, the conquered tribe, if not exterminated, was only subjected to more or less heavy tribute. But the Tlatilulca were dealt with far worse: they were degraded to the rank of "*women*," their public market was ordered closed, their council-house left to decay and their young men, expressly debarred from the privilege of carrying arms in aid of the Mexicans, were required to become the carriers of supplies to their captors. Such a punishment was unknown in the annals of Indian conquest, and appears even to militate against our views of aboriginal society in Mexico; still it was in perfect harmony with the institutions of the latter. The Tlatilulca were, as we should never forget, not only a tribe

[562] 174 648 727

[56] The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Plate XIV, also explanation Vol. VI, p. 138), concurs in this date, or the year seven "calli" which is indeed 1473.

[57] This acknowledgment—"to be Mexicans"—on the part of the inhabitants of Tlatilulco, was in the nature of a *claim*, and with a spirit of jealousy and envy. Although *Durán* says (Cap. XXXII, p. 257), "aniendo estado hasta entonces sujetos á la corona real de Méjico," this affirmation is utterly disproven, not only by all the other sources, but by his own statements (Cap. V, pp. 43 and 46). The confused and contradictory tales about the state of war preceding the formation of the confederacy still make the Tlatilulca always appear as assisting their neighbors of Tenuchtitlan, more or less. Sometimes they were neutral only, and at times they may have felt inclined to foster attempts at destruction of their rivals by outsiders, but they still were afraid of the consequences of it for their own independence. *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 46). The singular statement that the Tlatilulca even attempted, though fruitlessly, to withdraw the Tezcucans and Tlacopans from Tenuchtitlan, inducing them to become their associates in the work of its overthrew, is significant. See *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LVIII, p. 178) "Quisose aliar con los de Tlacupa, y Tetzcuco, los quales no le acudieron."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

connected, through stock-language or even dialect, with the Mexicans, but they were actually "kin of their own kin." Their punishment therefore was that of a crime committed against kinship and tribe. As we shall hereafter attempt to show, such delicts entailed death. Instead of exterminating a whole settlement however, the Mexicans treated the survivors as *outcasts from the bond of kinship*, degrading them to manual, therefore female labor.[58]

[58] The descriptions of the capture of Tlatilulco by the Mexicans, while "Face in the Water" (Axayacatl) was the latter's head war-chief, are so numerous, and in their features as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, so generally concordant, that I may be permitted to forego quotations. I simply refer to the best known authors on ancient Mexico in general. Still, these authors seem to report but the "Tenuchcan" side of the story. Although *Boturini* ("Idea" "*Catalogo del Museo Indiano*," p. 23), mentions the copy of "Un Mapa en papel Europeo, donde estan pintados los Reyes de Tlatilulco, y de México" as the only specifically "Tlatilulcan" document of which he knows, there still is preserved to us a tale of the overthrow of the pueblo of Tlatilulco, which bears distinctly the stamp of a genuine Tlatilulcan version. We owe it to *Oviedo y Valdés* ("*Historia general y nat. de Indias*," Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVI, pp. 504 and 505). "Avia dos parcialidades ó bandos en aquella república, la una se decia Mexicanos, é la otra Tlatebulcos, como se dice en Castilla Oneçinos é Gamboinos, ó Giles é Negretes. Y estos dos apellidos tenvieron grandes diferencias: é Monteçuma, como era mañoso, fingió grande amistad con el señor principal del bando Tlatebulco, que se decia por sus nombre proprio Samalce, é tomóle por yerno, é dióle una su hija, por le asegurar. Con este debdo, en cierta fiesta é convite á este Samalce, é á todos sus capitanes é parientes é hombres principales, hizolos embeodar: é desque estuvieron bien tomados del vino, hiçolos atar é sacrificarlos á todos, sacándoles los coraçones vivos, como lo tienen por costumbre. E los que padescieron esta crueldad passaban de mil hombres, señores principales; é tomóles las casas é quanto tenian, é poblólas de sus amigos é de los de la otra parçialidad Mexicana. É á todos los que tuvo por sospechosos, desterrólos de la ciudad, que fuéron mas de quatro mil hombres; y en los bienes é moradas destos hiço que viviessen los que quiso enriquesar con bienes agenos. É aquellos que desterró, hiço que poblassen quatro leguas de alli, en un pueblo que de aquella gente se hiço, que se llama Mezquique, é que le sirvirasen de perpétuos esclavos. É assi como la cibdad se deçia, y es su proprio nombre Temistitan, se llamó é llama por muchos México dende aquella maldad cometida por Monteçuma." This story is repeated by him with less detail (Cap. I, p. 533). Although manifestly incorrect, it is still interesting to compare with the current version.

The punishment which the Tlatilulca received, is also mentioned by a number of authors. The prominent sources, however, are: *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, pp. 270 and 271), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, pp. 74 and 75). Both of these relate that, besides, the great market place of Tlatilulco about which the latter says: "that the tianguis (market) was esteemed beyond, as if they had gained five tribes." The Tlatilulca were, as we shall hereafter see, mostly traders and, as one of their old men is made to say to "Face in the Water," by *Tezozomoc* (p. 74): "We are traders, merchants, and will give you (follows a long list of articles promised) . . . . . since by force of arms this tianguis has been gained." *Durán*, (p. 270): "After this was done, the King commanded that this place and market which they had gained should be distributed among the lords, since the Tlatilulca had no other soil." Compare also the statements in regard to trading and bartering in aboriginal Mexico, and to the beginning of the traders at Tlatilulco, in *Sahagun* (Lib. IX. cap. I, pp. 333 and 336).

"Kin of their own kin." In regard to this statement I beg to refer to one made by *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XV, p. 135): "Some modern national writers say that this separation did not occur precisely as between nobles and plebeyans, but that eight families

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 618 [615] Still, this low condition did not remain forever. The Tlatilulca were in a measure "re-adopted" into the tribe. After this, they formed a fifth quarter, or "phratry," which Father Vetancurt (in 1690) mentions as containing six "parcialidades." But this rehabilitation never extinguished the fire of revenge kindled once among the Tlatilulca towards the Mexicans. The latter treated the former therefore, not as a tribe subject to tribute, but as a suspicious group, to which the rights and privileges resulting from consanguinity could not well be denied, but to which voice and vote in the leading councils should not be accorded. In this singular position, not strictly inferior, but evidently more "distant," we find the Tlatilulca at Mexico at the time of the conquest.[39]

or tribes, in which there were of both kinds, were those who divided themselves from the rest." (See note 44.) It is much to be regretted that the eminent Mexican scholar has not given us the names of these "Algunos escritores nacionales modernos."

[39] According to *Durán* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), they remained in a degraded condition for 180 days at least, or eight aboriginal months: "y que les turase esta penitencia y castigo hasta los ochenta dias del segundo tributo." But they were, according to him, relieved of it but conditionally: "y asi les quitauan aquellos entredichos que e contado, los quales, en faltándoles, eran tornados á poner." In order to comply with the demands of the Mexicans for slaves, the Tlatilulca were forced to carry arms again, so as to take part in the wars. *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XLVI, p. 75) confirms, but implies previously (p. 73) that the Tlatilulca were specially obligated to be the traders for Mexico: "y haveis de ser nuestros tratantes y mercadres en los tianguis de Huexotzinco, Tlaxcalan, Tliliuquitepec, Zacatlan, y Cholula." A similar punishment was meted out to them by "Stern chief" the younger (the last Montezuma), after an unsuccessful campaign against Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Atlixco. *Durán* (Cap. LIX, pp. 468, 469), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XCVI, p. 170). It is, besides, positively asserted by the former (p. 271) that the "medicine lodge," or temple of Tlatilulco, was closed thereafter, abandoned and left to ruin and decay ("y asi dice la ystoria questuvo hasta entonces lleno de yerba y de vasura y caidas las paredes y dormitorios del"). It is, of course, confirmed by *Tezozomoc* (p. 73, cap. XLVI): "y asi fué que lo estuvo muchos años hasta la venida que hizo Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis del Valle, en esta nueva España, como adelante se dirá, á que me refiero." It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these statements with those of *Bernal Diaz de Castillo* (Cap. XCII, pp. 88, 89, 90, 91. Vedia, Vol. II), and of *Sr. Icazbalceta* in *Cervantes-Salazar* ("*Tres Dialogos*," note 40 to 2d Dial., p. 201) to the effect that Cortes visited that temple of Tlatilulco and found "Stern [114] chief" worshipping in it, and still more difficult is it to reconcile the relation of Bernal Diez with that of *Andrés de Tapia* ("*Relacion, etc., etc.*," pp. 562-586, Col. de Doc. II), who, as an eye-witness too, deserves similar credit.

Tlatilulco formed a quarter, a fifth great one, of Mexico at the time of the conquest. This is distinctly stated by *Motolinia* (*Historia, etc.*, Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180 and 181), *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XI, p. 93) confirms Motolinia in general, (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 226), *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. II, p. 181), "en el barrio llamado Tlatelulco;" (Lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 414), "y el barrio se dice Tlatelulco," adding (p. 418) "que son del mismo pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Cap. XVII, p. 433), "El convento de Santiago de Tlatelulco que es como barrio de Mexico;" (Cap. XXVIII, p. 466), "pueblo de Tlatelulco;" (Id., p. 483, Cap. XXIX). That this fifth great quarter was again divided into six smaller ones, is proven by *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*, etc.," pp. 207 and 212): "Tiene cuatro religiosos que con el ministro colado administran á más de mil quinientas personas en

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

out. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "asi en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("nengun bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21. p. 506) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 66), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Vetancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinia*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque munchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419. 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174a revolution before the advent of Europeans. We are consequently, by this investigation of the history of aboriginal Mexico, justified in claiming the state of its society to be as yet exclusively tribal.

121 174 Tribal society presupposes equality of rights among all members of the kins composing the tribe. Hence it follows that "caste" and hereditary rank could not exist, that there could not be any division, among the ancient Mexicans, into higher and lower classes, into "nobles" and "common people," or into hereditary professions or vocations like "priests," "warriors," "merchants," "artisans," and "tillers of the soil." In vindication however of our assertion, which might otherwise appear as too sweeping, we may be permitted here to dwell at some greater length on this particular question.

565 Nobility is based upon hereditary privilege of some kind. Either it consists in landed property with hereditability of title and (at least originally) office, or in a hereditary charge alone, or privilege or power over others transmitted with the blood. While the former has become more usually known and is therefore regarded as characteristic, the latter, always accompanied by "loose wealth" at least, is still found among pastoral nations.[62] It may even have been the incipient form of the other. Now, among the ancient Mexicans, we have seen that:—

1. The notion of abstract ownership of the soil, in any shape, had not yet arisen.

2. Individuals, whatever might be their position or office, without any exception, had but a right to use certain tracts, and no possessory rights, even, to land were attached to any office or dignity.

3. No office itself, whether of the kin or tribe, was hereditary in any family, since the Mexican family, as such, was yet in but a nascent state.[63]

4. Futhermore loose property was subject to such diminutions occasioned by the mode of worship,[64] and especially of burial,[65]

[62] The Arabs for instance. See *Kremer* ("*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam*").

[63] For these three points see "*Tenure of Lands*" in general, and pp. 447–48 in particular.

[64] *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. IV, p. 31). "Otros trabajaban y adquirian dos ó tres años cuanto podian, para hacer una fiesta al demonio, y en ella no solo gastaban cuanto tenian, mas aun se adeudaban, de manera que tenian que servir y trabajar otro año y aun otros dos para salir de deuda; . . ."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 Every one of these designations conveys a certain amount of truth, though none of them adequately defines the office, the true nature and position of which become clear only through a glance at its 643 early history. Tribal executive as a permanent office, (which 174 must always be distinguished from a hereditary dignity), was created under the pressure of extreme need. The warrior who enjoyed the confidence of the tribe, who was not only daring and brave, but had also given proof of wisdom in the councils, became the people's choice as leader. The Mexicans were then in an attitude of defence; their own existence was at stake, and it was but natural, therefore, that the leading "talk" should be on military subjects, and that consequently the prominent war-captain should become the prominent "speaker," or foreman of the council.[215] In this manner we come to notice but *one* executive chief until the confederacy was formed. His duties were plain, even simple, at that time. He resided at the official house and superintended the exercise of tribal hospitality there; he was foreman to the council, and the leading executor of its decrees as far as tribal jurisdiction extended; he controlled the receiving and housing of the modest crops gathered from the "lands of the official-house" (tecpan-talli),[216] which, together with the customary pres-

(3d "*Recueil*" *of* "*Ternaux Compans*," dated Mexico, 14 August, 1531): "Ainsi l'on dit qu'un certain Tapico, qui gouvernait la partie du Mexique que l'on appelle Temixtitan." I find also the following in the municipal records of Mexico: "*Actas de Cabildo*" (Vol. I. p. 73; "Viernes 17 de Agosto 1526, años"): "Este dia de pedimento de Diego de Ordáz vecino de esta Cibdad le hizieron merced de le confirmar cierta compra que hize de Guanachel cacique que se llama Tapia de un sitio de casa que esta cabe San Francisco."

The "gobernador" of Mexico, after the conquest, and restoration under Spanish rule, was the former "*Cihuacohuatl*." This is plainly stated by *Cortés* ("*Carta Cuarta*," Vedia I, p. 110): "hice á un capitan general que en la guerra tenia, y yo conocia del tiempo de Muteczuma, que tomase cargo de la tornar á poblar. Y para que mas autoridad su persona inviese, tornéle á dar el mismo cargo que en tiempo del señor tenia, que es cignacoat, que quiere tanto decir como lugar-teniente del señor." Therefore the appellation of Bernal-Diez. applies evidently to this officer.

[214] *Cortés* ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 80. "*Carta Cuarta*," p. 110, both in Vedia I). *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 302): "Vino Xihuacoa, gobernador y capitan general." *Herrera* (Dec. III. lib. II, cap. VII, p. 53) calls him "Guacoazin, Principal consejero del Rei, i su Lúgar teniente," *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. C, p. 567): "Salió un capitan, llamado Cihuacohuatl Tlacotzin."

[215] *Codice Ramirez* (pp. 34 and 35): "Mira, Señor, que vienes á ser amparo y sombra y abrigo desta nacion Mexicana . . . ." *Joseph de Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. VIII, p. 466); *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. XIII, p. 95): "La causa de su Eleccion, fue, aver crecido en numero, y estár mui rodeados de Enemigos, que les hacian Guerra, y afligian."

[216] "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 405, 406 and 419). I beg leave to correct here a mistake of mine in note 75, p. 420. At the close of said note it reads: "The above quotations show conclusively that the soil of the "tecpantlalli" was held and vested in the *King*

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

enta, constituted the tribal stores; finally he commanded the people when in arms. The overthrow of the tribes of Azcaputzalco and Cuyuacan, by rendering these pueblos tributary, and compulsory allies of the Mexicans in warfare, suddenly increased these duties to such an extent that an assistant or colleague, a second head-chief, became necessary. Finally, when the confederacy came into existence, the first of these two chiefs was made its military commander, thus burthening him with duties of an extra-tribal nature.[217] He, therefore, had to relinquish a corresponding share of tribal business, which naturally fell to his associate. This associate, as we have already stated, was the "snake-woman" or "Cihuacohuatl," the proper head-chief of the Mexicans.

As daily leader of the council's "talk," the forenian of its deliberations, the "snake-woman" appears in the light of a judge, even of a supreme judge. But while, on all important occasions, he was the spokesman[218] of the council, and the awards he declared and the sentences he pronounced, were final and admitted of no appeal, yet it was only so because they emanated from the council, and not because they were his own individual decrees. He remained always subject to the authority of that body, and, in a general way, he can be said to have superintended the execution

. . ." In place of it, "vested in the *Kin*" is the proper reading. The mistake is wholly and exclusively mine—a "slip of the pen," which I neglected to correct in time.

[217] The Texcucan writers, represented by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII and XXXIV) claim the leadership for Texcuco, but the facts disprove it. Compare also "*Tenure of Lands*" (pp. 416, 417 and 418).

[218] *Fragmento No.* 1 ("*Biblioteca Mexicana*"—"*Noticias relativas al Reinado de Motecuzuma Ilhuicamina*," p. 124): "Juntos los principales Mexicanos, el Rey les dixo lo que el Rey de Tetzcuco pedia, y todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel, el cual respondió en nombre de todos á su Rey." *Durán* (Cap. XIV, p. 118): "Tlacaellel, que en todo era el primer voto y á quien se dava la mano en responder." (Cap. XV, p. 126): "Todos dieron la mano á Tlacaellel para que respondiese al rey." (Cap. XXIX, p. 240): "Tlacaellel, poniendose en pié, dixo desta manera, etc., etc." (Cap. XXXII, pp. 254 and 255, Cap. LIII, p. 417.) *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XVIII, p. 28. Cap. XIX, p. 30): "Y asi oydo esto por los principales Mexicanos tomó la mano de hablar Cihualcoatl Tlacaelelitzin y dijo: hijo y nuestro muy querido rey, os encargaos que veais muy bien lo que quereis hacer . . ." (Cap. XXI, p. 32): "Pasados algunos dias dijo el rey Moctezuma á Zihuacoatl Tlacatlelitzin general y oydor . . ." "Llegados todos los señores de los dichos pueblos al palacio del rey Moctezuma, y sentados cada señor segun su merecimiento y valor de sus personas, digéron el rey Moctezuma, y su presidente y capitan general Zihuacoatl Tlacatlelitzin." (Cap. XXXI. p. 48). (Cap. XXXVI. p. 57): "que el primero era su real consegero Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelitzin, . . ." (Cap, XXXIX, p. 62, Cap. XLIII. p. 69): "Luego en el palacio del rey Axayaca sin salir los grandes, ni nadie, prosiguió Zihuacoatl Tlacaelelitzin . . ." Further quotations are superfluous, particularly from this author.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 limited the choice to a family, perhaps not even to a kin.[229] Like every other office it had to be *deserved*,[230] and could not be obtained by birth or through craft;[231] neither could it be transmitted through inheritance.[232].

643 The history of this office may be divided into two periods: the
174 first, closing with the formation of the confederacy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century; the second, beginning at that time, and lasting until the final abrogation of the office by the Spaniards, in 1521.[233] During the former period the "chief of men" was, as we have already said, but the executive chieftain

entiendo no piden justicia, porque en su ley antigua mas eran elecciones, en todo género de señoras, que no herencias ni sucesiones." The author of the above was a native Mexican, and knew the customs of his people. "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 58): "porque como queda referido, nunca heredaron los hijos de los Reyes en los señorios, sino por eleccion daban el Reyno á uno destos quatro principes, á los quales tampoco heredaban sus hijos en estos dichos y cargos; sino que muerto uno escogian otro en su lugar al que les parescia, y con este modo siempre tuvo este Reyno muy suficientes hombres en sus Repúblicas, porque elegian los mas valerosos." *Tezcucomoc* (Cap. LXXXII, pp. 142 and 143), confirming the mode of election as reported by Sahagun. *Zurita* ("*Rapport, etc.*," p. 14): "Ainsi, ils préféraient laisser apres eux un successeur qui fut capable de bien gouverner, plutôt que d'abandonner cette charge á leurs fils, á leurs petite-fils ou á leurs lieutenants, comme le fit Alexandre le Grand." *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, pp. 138 and 134). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356): "Confieso de la Republica Mexicana esta manera de sucesion, y que se elegian algunas veces, sin diferencias, notando solamente las qualidades de las personas. y de estos fue Itzcohuatl, valeroso Rei Mexicano, que por el valor de su persona, y la grandeça de su animo, no se advirtió, ni reparó para eligirle, en que era Hijo de una Esclava; pero no es maravilla, que el bien publico, prefiera al particular." I forbear quoting the tales about the election of sundry Mexican chiefs, as related by the above and other authors.

[229] *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI. p. 463), has distinctly formulated the idea: "that the crown should always remain in the house of Acamapitzin." Enough has been said about the Mexican family to dispel the notions of an "Indian dynasty" in Mexico. At best, a succession or perpetuation of the *office* in a certain *Kin* or *calpulli*, might be conceded. *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103), *Codice Ramirez*, (p. 56), and *Zurita* (p. 14), make even this somewhat doubtful; so does the election of Itzcohuatl, *as conceived* by *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 356). The origin of "Flinty Snake" is, however, reported in too many different ways to justify any conclusion based on it. The fact, that one of the four leading war-captains should become "chief of men," militates against descent of office in a certain kin. See also *Joseph de Acosta* ("*Hist. nat. y moral de los Indias*," Lib. VI, cap. 24, pp. 430 and 440).

[230] *Sahagun* (Lib. VI. cap. XX; Lib. VIII, cap. XXX). *Acosta* (Lib. VI, cap. 24).

[231] *Las Casas* ("*Hist. apologética*" quoted on p. 134 of Vol. VIII of Lord Kingsborough's collection): "Quando algun señor moria y dexava muchos hijos, si alguno se alzava en palacio y se queria preferir á los otros, aunque fuese el mayor, no lo consentia el Señor á quien pertenecia la confirmacion, y menos el pueblo. Antes dexavan pasar un año, ó mas de otro, en el qual consideravan bien qual era mejor para regir ó gobernar el estado, y aquel permaneció por señor." *Zurita* ("Rapport, etc.," pp. 18 and 19). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, pp. 358 and 359). Further quotations would be useless.

[232] In addition to the authorities named in note 228, I refer to *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VI, p. 463); with the restriction mentioned in note 229. "*De l'ordre de Succession, etc.*" (1st *Recueil of Terraux-Compans*, p. 228).

[233] *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 69). *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. I, p. 272). The death of Cuauhtemotzin put an end to the office in the eyes of the Spaniards, although it had

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

of the tribe, and the duties of his office, at that time embracing those of the "Cihuacohuatl," have been stated by us already.[643-174] The confederation had so far wrought a change that he became "general" of its allied warriors,[234] and consequently to a certain extent, an extra-tribal officer residing at Tenuchtitlan, Mexico, because the military supremacy was vested in that tribe. We have previously alluded to the fact that it was the "chief of men" upon whom we have been heretofore accustomed to look as a monarch, even a despot. His office and its attributes have been the mainstays of the notion that a high degree of civilization prevailed in aboriginal Mexico, in so far as its people were ruled after the manner of eastern despotisms.

Not only was this pretended monarch strictly elective, but he could also be deposed for misdemeanor.[235] "Wrathy chief" the younger, better known as the last Montezuma, was removed from office and his successor elected before that ill-starred chieftain's violent death.[236] [643]

been formally abrogated by the capture of that chieftain, to whom no successor was appointed by the whites.

[234] "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 417). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXII, p. 219), claims for his Texcucan chief the military command, in the shape of an "imperial" title: "He of Texcuco was greeted by the title of Aculhua Tecuhtli, as also by that of Chichimecatl-Tecuhtli which his ancestors carried, and which was the distinctive mark of the empire." I believe this claim was disposed of in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 394, notes 9 and 10). See also *Vetancurt* (Part IIa, Trat. I, cap. XIV, p. 291): "y remataron la fiesta quedando Izcohuatl por rey supremo del imperio tepaneca, por ser primero que Netzahualcoyotl." See also the tacit acknowledgments by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist: des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVIII, LXXIV, LXXV).

[235] *Vetancurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Parte II, Trat. II, cap. XV, p. 485): "Otras muchas leyes extravagantes que con el instinto natural, con maduro consejo confirmaron y que inviolablemente guardaban, tenian los Mexicanos y los de Guatimala, como el de deponer al rey con junta y consejo de la nobleza."

[236] That "wrathy chief" had lost all his authority during the time Cortés went against Narvaez, is clearly stated in "*Carta Segunda*" (Vedia I, pp. 41 and 43) already, though the fact of his removal from office is not noticed by the Spanish commander himself. It is, however, mentioned by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. CXXVI, p. 132). Montezuma said to Olid and to the "Padre de la Merced:" "Yo tengo creido que no aprovecharé cosa ninguna para que cese la guerra, porque ya tienen alzado otro señor . . . ;" and again the Mexicans themselves are reported as answering to Montezuma: "Hacémosos saber que ya hemos levantado á un vuestro primo por señor." *Las Casas* ("*Brevissima Relacion*," p. 49), Alvarado: "Ponen un puñal a los pechos al preso Motençuma que se pusiesse à los corredores, y mandasse, que los Yndios no combatiessen la casa, si no que se pusiessen en paz. Ellos no curaron entonces de obedecelle en nada; antes platicauan de elegir otro Señor, y capitan, que guiasse sus batallas." *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XXI, pp. 28 and 29): "Oidas estas voces por los Mexicanos y Tlatilulcas, commençaron entre si á bravear, y maldecir á Mocthezuma diciendo que dice el puto de Mocthezuma y tú bellaco con él? no cesaremos de la guerra; luego comenzaron á dar alaridos y á tirar saetas y dardos ácia donde estaba el que hablaba junto con Mochthecuzuma." This was before Cortés had even captured Narvaez, and shows that at that time the "chief of men" had already lost all authority. *Codice Ramirez* (p. 89). When the other chief who was with Montezuma had spoken: